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Is it not a significant fact that the Parliament of Religions which has been holding its sessions during the past month was gathered in a Christian land and under Christian auspices? Was it merely a concatenation of chance circumstances that brought the Parliament to this country? We had a great Exposition; everything under heaven was collected here; congresses on every conceivable topic of human knowledge and activity were assembled; why not an aggregation of religions and a comparison of religious faiths?—hence the Parliament! That may account for the suggestion. It does not explain the turning of the thought into act and achievement. The Parliament is the thing to be accounted for, not the dream, the suggestion, the unrealized ideal which lay behind it. And therefore the question persists, Is there any significance in the consummation of this Parliament in a Christian land and under Christian leadership? The problem is really worth considering. We put it in its extreme form in the following proposition: It is demonstrably certain that Christianity, and Christianity alone, could originate and carry through to a successful issue such a wonderful enterprise as the harmonious conference of the world's religions.

FIRST, Christianity alone has the interest in such a conference sufficient to ensure its success. To Jesus Christ every thought of every man about God and every endeavor of every man to serve God were supremely interesting. His followers cannot

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but catch something of his spirit. The comparative study of religion is a science born in Christian lands and indebted for a large part of its facts to the work of missionaries who studied the religions which they sought to supplant. It is often the case that the toleration which is the boast of some non-christian religions is the toleration of indifference and selfishness. Christianity may have been often intolerant, but her intolerance has had at its root the profoundest concern for man as a religious being. That spirit, when sweetened and broadened, works out into the intelligent and sympathetic consideration for the religious beliefs of man. The question of the Christian missionary, "Must I not carry my knowledge of God's saving love to other men?" involves the counter question, "What do they already know about it?" And by the fundamental principles of the Gospel all Christians are missionaries, and hence in the Christian world at large has arisen this interest in other religions which has been one element in the realization of this Parliament in a Christian country.

SECOND, the essential unity of Christianity has been a factor in making the Parliament a reality. Talk as you will about a divided Christendom, it cannot be denied that there is among Christian sects and parties and churches a basis of living union such as no other religion at present possesses. In the person of Jesus Christ, in the faith and love of Jesus Christ, all Christendom is one, and a like centre cannot be found in any other of the world's religions. Hence when the heart of Christendom makes itself felt, one impulse is received-we act as one. Such a unity made it possible to hope to realize this Parliament; it gave a platform high enough from which to call the world together and broad enough to gather them all and have room enough to move about without crush and crowd. What other religion of the world to-day can speak so unitedly with voice and act? Not India, with her thousand sects and want of a central thought and life. Not Islam, whose parties are as wide apart as the poles, and who have only a dead Mohammed to hold them together. Not any of them all, but Christianity with the living Christ.

THIRD, Christianity alone could face the consequences which such a Parliament brings in its train. Carelessness about results of comparison with other religions is somehow characteristic of the faith of the Gospel. This carelessness may be audacious and unjustifiable; may be attended with temporary injury to believers. But it is the carelessness of unconscious superiority, of unbounded resources, of undaunted belief in the possession of the future. Other faiths may be able to stand comparison as well as Christianity. To that we do not refer now. Christianity may have no good grounds for inviting other faiths to measure themselves against her, but she has proved in this Parliament ' that she is perfectly ready to invite comparison. An interesting instance in illustration of the point is this. In the provisional program of the Parliament one of the subjects suggested for presentation was "The defects of each religious system represented, to be stated in each case by an adherent of that faith." In the actual sessions that topic was not brought forward. And vet in the case of our own religion criticism was heard not only from ourselves but from the representatives of other religions. Hardly a word was uttered by Christians against any defect in non-Christian faiths and nothing of the sort by their adherents. This fact so significant can only mean that it is Christianity alone which is ready to stand criticism, invites judgment, throws herself open in a free, bold way, heedless of consequences, to the most searching demands of the human spirit. Such a faith alone could call other religions to conference and council with prospect of a successful assembling of the representative religions of the world. One cannot help seeing that this Parliament was in one sense the test, the trial, of Christianity itself, and nothing could be more evident than that Christianity welcomed that test.

What may be regarded as some of the most essential benefits of the Parliament? Opinions on this point naturally are widely different. That gathering is as yet too near us for adequate estimate of the results. Yet a few things are clear respecting it. Light has been thrown upon the other religions, and a fairer judgment of them made possible. Their spokesmen could

not give us much satisfactory scientific historical information concerning their own faiths. The Hindu, for example, does not know how to use the scientific method, or, if he does, cannot apply it thoroughly. European scholars are better authorities on the Vedas than the Indian pundits. But one important lesson these men could teach by their words and actions—by their conceptions of religion and their evidences of religious life. These were sufficient proof that God was working in them; that they were not left to themselves; that their religions were not "false" in contradistinction to the one "true" gospel. These men may have been imperfect, they were not "abandoned." The religious system that can produce and sustain them must, in important elements, be from God.

Another important fact brought out was the connection between educational and benevolent enterprises on the one hand, and religious systems on the other. India declared that its people longed for education and besought American Christianity to send teachers rather than missionaries, ignorant, apparently, of the fact that in India itself Christianity, missionary Christianity, and education go hand in hand. India asked for bread for its starving millions in preference to religious teaching, of which it claimed to have enough, ignorant that the Christian missions in India have been the centres of philanthropy, and that the missionary has been the chief dispenser of bread for the body as well as the preacher of truth for the soul. However Christianity was recognized, even in that veiled criticism, as the religion which alone possessed a monopoly, not, indeed, of noble thought about education and humanitarianism, but of organized effort and permanent achievement in these lines.

Another step was taken in the direction of the ultimate religion. In the presence of truth plainly attested in so many systems of religion as were represented in the Parliament, the old idea of conquest, of struggle for victory, vanished. Truth has no business fighting itself. The problem of ultimateness must henceforth be solved in terms of growth. The issue is not between truth and a lie, but resolves itself into a matter of incorporation, assimilation, fulfilment. The Saviour's words receive

from this point of view a larger meaning. "I came not to destroy but to fulfil." Christianity is seen to antagonize other faiths only as a larger and deeper truth can be said to antagonize a lesser one. The ultimate religion, from the platform of the Parliament of Religions, is seen to be that one which has the greatest capacity of growth manward and Godward. It need not be said that the Christ of Christianity is not only the centre but the boundless circumference of religion. For man ultimateness must be in a living person. In this sense not Christianity but Christ is the ultimate religion. Such was the deepest voice of this Parliament.

THE position of the Bible in the Parliament was suggestive. The Bible is not religion or God. It is the helper toward God, the interpreter and handmaid of religion. They utterly misconceive its purpose and misplace it who would exalt it into any higher position. In the presence of the fact of religion which filled the horizon of the Parliament the Bible took its rightful place. It was not recognized as "the religion of Protestants" to use the words of the motto of a century or so ago. The old method of bolstering up the argument by biblical proof-texts was seldom resorted to. This seeing of religious truths and phenomena in their natural and right relations was one of the greatest achievements of the Parliament, and in no other respect was this rectiscopic energy more active than in defining the position and use of the Scriptures. The Bible is studied, not because it is an object of worship, but because it reveals God, the true and only object of worship. It is revered, not because it is perfect, but because it opens the mind and heart to the vision and realization of a perfected humanity in Jesus Christ. It is to be obeyed, not because it is outward categorical religion, but because it discloses to the candid soul the religion which dwells unconsciously in every man, and because it exhibits the law of the King, the word of the Father, according to which religion is to blossom into the complete life.

In this light the Bible received high honor in the Parliament. Its words were daily on the lips of the speakers representing all religions. It was recognized as the highest achievement in the literature of the religious consciousness, the finest expression of the religious sense, the most stimulating power in the attainment of religious life. The Bible as well as Christianity is careless of the consequences of comparison with other sacred books. Its excellence does not depend on its lofty sentiments, so that, should these be paralleled in other sacred literatures, as they are, its supremacy is threatened. The historic revelation of God among men in the Bible is that which sets this book apart. Its historical element contains its own justification. Thus while Christianity is greater than the Bible, as religion is greater than Christianity, the Bible is still normal and determining as is no other sacred book in the religious experience of the race. There is truth in those books; in this Book is the Truth revealed. In those books there is strengthening for life; in this Book is the Life of the world. Because Christ is supreme, the Bible, which records his service and his sacrifice, will be supreme among the religious literatures of mankind.

Thus the influence of the Parliament is in the line of enlightening, broadening and rectifying the religious mind of Christianity. The temporary results may be, and doubtless will be, in some directions, weakening and destructive. Those who, on the one hand, have bound up religion with their own conceptions of revelation and the Bible are inclined to believe that the Parliament contributed to laxness and looseness. They may only harden themselves, settle themselves more solidly into their prejudices. On the other hand, those whose boast is that they think freely, which means usually to think foolishly and superficially, will find large incentive in the truly liberalizing spirit of the Parliament to strip off the few remnants left of reasonable and sober judgment. But for the rest, for the mass of sober minded, candid, aspiring and devout Christians the ultimate result of the Parliament will be a blessing in stimulating missionary activity, in clarifying and sweetening the mind, in enlarging the sympathy, in exalting and glorifying the Christ, the light and Saviour of the world.

A STUDY OF THE FORM AND CONTENTS OF THE SONG OF SONGS.

By PROFESSOR A. S. CARRIER, McCormick Theological Seminary.

Most writers on the Song discover in it not only an elaborate plot, but a complicated dramatic structure, and it is customary to divide the poem into as many as five distinct acts. Aside from the simple naïve character of the book itself, this seems a theory unwarranted by what we know of the literary art of Israel and other nations of antiquity. It must be remembered that the date of this book is somewhere in the tenth or eleventh centuries B. C., and that the Greek drama did not attain its full development until six centuries later (circ. 480 B. C.) We do not find in Old Testament literature any strong action and reaction of characters. There is much, it is true, that is exceedingly dramatic in the history, the prophets and the poetry of the Bible, but the balancing of one character against another, and the elaboration of situations as such, is almost altogether wanting.

The human soul is the stage upon which emotions play, and it is to a large degree by the unveiling of the heart itself that we get what is called the dramatic element of Scripture. The book of Esther in some respects comes nearer the requirements of the drama than any other portion of the Old Testament; its transitions are startling and full of surprises, and the denouement is tragic and powerful. Yet we are justified in regarding it merely as a piece of vivid historical writing, for which the actual events supplied all the dramatic material needed.

Isaiah's description of the descent of the king of Babel into Sheol (Isa. 14) and Ezekiel's picture of the slain multitudes of Pharaoh, Elam, Meshech and Edom (Ezek. 32: 17 ff.) are vivid portrayals, dramatic even in their vividness, but after all they

are pictures, tremendous pieces of word-painting, and they would find their places in an epic of Hades rather than in a drama. The Book of Job is often considered a drama, but if it is, the action is almost entirely in Job's own soul. The friends add to his perplexities, but they do not aid in his final victory; they drop out of sight altogether at the end, and it is Job and Jehovah who are left standing alone. Job towers above all his Comforters, and they are seen to be hardly more than the personifications of effete or perverted ideas of Divine justice and government.

Can we now apply the same course of reasoning to the book before us? In the first place, it must be admitted that there are certain well-defined dramatic features and a dramatic setting, then, Solomon and the Shulamite stand out very clearly as the protagonists, and again, a chorus, consisting of the daughters of Jerusalem, is an integral part of the poem. Yet it is quite obvious that it is the Shulamite around whom everything revolves. Her sentiments, her longings, her doubts and her triumph form the central theme of the whole book. There is really very little that can be called dialogue, for the speakers express their thoughts without much effort, seemingly, to impress one another with their force. The passages in which Solomon addresses the Shulamite as "my friend" are studied and rhetorical, and more like declamations than appeals to one whom he seeks to win. The Shulamite hardly ever seems to reply to him directly; almost all her utterances, until the last chapter, are more in the nature of soliloquies or reveries than of conversations. They are rather the expressions of one whose soul is troubled and struggling, and whose gaze is turned inward than of one who is responding to fervid appeals or even seeking to parry too fulsome compliments. Observe that in chapters 3 and 5 the action is carried on in the visions of the night, the beloved is sought each time not in waking reality, but in dreams. Notice also that in chapter 2:8 we have undoubtedly a reminiscence of a past event, and the conversation, charming and natural as it is, is unquestionably a memory over which the Shulamite muses to herself. In chap. 6:10 the description seems to relate to the first discovery of the Shulamite by Solomon and his court,—another reminiscence, of which, however, more will be said later.

If these observations be correct, the Shepherd Lover, whom so many regard as a third and leading character and the rival of Solomon, is a shadow projected upon the canvas before which the other characters move, rather than an actual, present entity. He is, however, none the less real in his influence, for he is the cause of the whole action on the Shulamite's part. But a drama in which one of the most important actors is made to play his part in dream or revery alone, differs very widely from the drama as ordinarily understood; it stamps the book at once with a strongly subjective character. As a study in literary history it would, however, be an exceedingly interesting question to determine whether this subjective element developed the necessity for the chorus as we see it in the Greek drama.

Let us now consider the contents of the book somewhat in detail.

Chaps. 1:2-2:7 seem to be a scene laid either in the palace at Jerusalem, or as some think in the tents of the king, who is making a royal progress through Northern Palestine. This latter supposition I do not, however, regard as likely, for the vision in chapter 3 is colored by the new sights and experiences of the city.

In the opening verses the daughters of Jerusalem are heard singing a choral passage in praise of Solomon. There are indications that the song was partly by a chorus and partly by individual singers. It is possible that the Shulamite herself utters the words, "The king brought me into his apartments." Although the passage in parts undoubtedly refers to the king, it certainly seems as if other parts were addressed to the Shulamite, particularly the last words of verse 4: "We will exult and rejoice in thee, we will make mention of thy love more than wine, rightly do they love thee." The pointing of the suffixes is against this, and perhaps it should not be pressed. The Shulamite responds in words which are half deprecating and half a soliloquy, "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem." And almost immediately the king enters, and addresses her in courtly phrases, likening her to a steed in Pharaoh's

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chariots. The Shulamite does not reply directly; she speaks of her Beloved in the third person. Solomon addresses her again, "Behold, thou are fair, my friend; behold, thou art fair, thine eyes are doves." The Shulamite in verses 16, 17, and again in 2:3-6 appears to reply directly to the king's words and almost to reciprocate his advances as she does nowhere else. May we not suppose that, surrounded as she is by all the glory and magnificence of the court, she falters for the moment? Her personal vanity is appealed to, and though she deprecates Solomon's praise by saying that she is not one of the exotics of the court, but simply a rose of Sharon, a lily of the valley, when he responds by declaring that she is incomparably above her surroundings, past and present,—"As a lily among thorns, so is my friend among the daughters,"-she seems to accept the preëminence accorded her; yet she says, "As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons; in his shadow I took delight; I sat down and his fruit was pleasant to my taste" (2:3), and thus claims for the one whom she continually speaks of in the third person as "My Beloved" a like preëminence, as though arguing his case in the presence of the shadow of a doubt as to whether he stood so high after all as she had always fondly pictured him. But when without an apparent change of subject she exclaims, 'He has brought me into the house of wine, and his banner over me is love," (2:4) she can hardly refer to any one else than the king, the two rivals are contrasted for the instant and weighed the one over against the other. In the next sentence the subject is changed again, "Stay ye me with raisins, comfort ye me with apples, for I am sick of love" (2:5). The daughters of Jerusalem are appealed to here, and as a continuation of the appeal, though not to them, I take the verb of the next verse to be in the passive, "Let his left hand be under my head" (2:6). The temptation has been strong, and the inexperienced maiden has perhaps been shaken by it, for she has been plied with the subtle flattery that she is superior to her environment. Yet, in the midst of it all, she cries out with the strongest negative that a Hebrew could use, "I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes and by the hinds of the fields, that ye stir not up nor awaken love until it please" (2:7). Literally, "If ye stir up love," with the suppressed conclusion, "may God do so to you and more also," and she thus seems to recognize in the daughters of Jerusalem one of the most potent instruments of her trial.

In chap. 2:8 the atmosphere of the whole scene suddenly changes; the Shulamite hears the voice of her Beloved, she sees him looking in at the windows, glancing through the lattice. Yet all this is but a subjective appearance; she has not left the royal apartments; she is still in the court, though she is probably alone; . but her thoughts at once revert to other times and other themes. Just as in the first chapter everything seemed to breathe the highly perfumed air of an oriental court, so here we smell all the odors of the springtime and hear the songs of countless birds. But we do not have two speakers as before. The Shulamite, in her revery, pictures before her mind the form of her beloved and recalls his words; she repeats them over to herself and then breaks out into a little snatch of song, just as she had often done in the vineyards,—"Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vineyards, for our vineyards are in blossom" (2:15). Then she pledges herself anew to her beloved and prays him to hasten over the mountains of separation. From this waking vision we pass naturally to a vision of the night, in which the Shulamite seeks her Beloved through the streets of the strange city, which must have impressed itself strongly upon her imagination with its new and unaccustomed sights. When she has once found him whom her soul loved, she steps, by a touch of the truest art, from the city streets directly into her mother's house in the far north, she wakes in the strength of the vision to adjure the daughters of Jerusalem anew not to attempt to coerce a love which must be spontaneous, and with this closes what I consider the first act. The daughters of Jerusalem have been the most prominent figures; by their praise of the king and the supreme excellence of his love, they have sought to show the Shulamite the greatness of her privilege in being brought to court, while Solomon himself has sought to move her by telling her how far superior she is to anyone around her. But to all

this she opposes the simple fact that she is her Beloved's, and

that her affection can only be given spontaneously.

With chap. 3:6 begins a new section, "Who is this that cometh up out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke," and we have a brilliant piece of word-painting; the royal retinue is seen approaching Jerusalem, and Solomon in all his glory, in his kingly array, with his golden crown upon his head, is pictured before us. His own overpowering personality is now to be brought to bear on the Shulamite, and as he stands before her we hear again his courtly compliments. They are studied and rhetorical, nothing effective is omitted, but they remind us of what he first said, when he compared her to a steed in Pharaoh's. chariots; they are a catalogue of good points rather than the outburst of an impassioned love. He seems not to succeed so well now as on the former occasion, for with the words, "Until the day be cool and the shadows flee away, I will get me to the mountain of myrrh, to the hill of frankincense" (4:6); the Shulamite apparently seeks the quiet of the palace gardens, while Solomon, after one more word, leaves her for a season. Alone with her own thoughts, she communes again in soul with the absent beloved. In her revery in the garden she almost unconsciously contrasts the studied and finished compliments of Solomon with the fresh, unstudied and natural outburst of the beloved. The call that is wafted to her from the north is but the echo of her own longings,—"With me from Lebanon, O Bride, with me from Lebanon come; look from the top of Amana, from the top of Senir and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards." "Thou art a fountain of gardens, a well of living waters and flowing streams from Lebanon" (4:8, 15),—and she responds

with the words, "Awake, O north wind" (4:16).

It would be almost impossible to understand chap. 5:1 of the beloved Shepherd if he were present in bodily form, for how could he be conceived of as having really gained an entrance to the palace as the verse seems to imply? But if we look upon the verse as forming the transition from the waking revery in the garden to the actual dream introduced in verse 2, the difficulty

vanishes. The dream that follows is more vivid than the first, and painful as the first was not. In the first she sought and found her Beloved; in the second she loses him and is subjected to indignity. This dream is psychologically as true to nature as the other. The Shulamite is conscious enough of her personality to hesitate to admit her Beloved, and yet there rushes over her the sense that he is here at last, and perhaps about to be lost forever, and she hurries forth into the dark streets to bring him Incidentally this scene strengthens the shepherd theory, for the dream is just what we should expect when the difficulties had become extreme and escape seemed impossible, the anguish of mind and the hopelessness of the situation would force themselves even through the bars of sleep. Are we to suppose that she awakes now full of terror and agony of soul? Perhaps so, but one is almost inclined to carry the dream further and to see in the appearance of the Daughters of Jerusalem but a continuation of it; certainly their sympathy and willingness to search for the Beloved seems a little strange for such devoted admirers of Solomon, but as the vagary of a dream it would be natural enough.

It is also to be noticed that the Shulamite's description of her Beloved is not in the simple language which she otherwise always uses, but is grandiloquent and strained, like the speeches we sometimes make in dreams. Yet the act closes with the words which are the renewal of her pledge, "I am my Beloved's and my Beloved is mine" (6:3).

The third act is introduced with less pomp and circumstance than the others. Solomon speaks again, and while he uses in part the same words as before, he is briefer than in the second act. On each previous appearance he has said, "Thou art fair, my friend." Now he says, "Thou art fair, my friend, as Tirzah" (6:4). On each of the former occasions he has compared her eyes to doves. Now he says they are terrible. "Turn away thine eyes from me," he exclaims, "for they have overcome me" (6:5). Verses 5^b-7 are a repetition of chap. 4:1^b, 2 and 3^b. It is certainly remarkable that in a book where there is so much variety, the speech put into the mouth of one of the leading

characters should be so stereotyped. It reminds one strongly of the Book of Job, where the three-fold assault upon Job's position diminishes in effectiveness each time, little indeed being added after the first cycle, and at last dies away in a few phrases, which have but little bearing upon the main point of the controversy. And just as words failed the friends of Job, so Solomon's speech seems to halt and his fluency and rhetoric to desert him.

The last trial is apparently less severe than either of the others, but let us look a little closer. The scene seems to be laid in the interior of the palace. The harem is, as it were, for a moment unveiled, and in 6:8, 9 its inmates are mentioned. As the Shulamite stands in their midst, she seems to hear the whisper of the Beloved, "There are three-score queens and four-score concubines, and virgins without number; my dove, my undefiled is but one" (6:8), but with this whisper the temptation itself may be intensified; she is the only one in the eyes of the Beloved, but she could so easily be supreme here, "the daughters saw her and called her blessed; yea, the queens and concubines, and they praised her" (6:9), and with these thoughts her memory reverts to the time before she had enjoyed this taste of royal luxury, and she seems to see again Solomon's retinue as it suddenly came upon her in her native valley, and to hear the exclamation, "Who is this that looketh forth as the morning" (6:10); she remembers how she sought to escape from the chariots of her princely people, and how they called after her, "Return, return, O Shulamite; return, return, that we may look upon thee" (6:13a), and how she turned back with the deprecating appeal, "Why do ye look upon the Shulamite as ye would upon a dance of Mahanaim" (6:13b). If her beauty so wrought upon them when she was but an unknown rustic maiden, what limit need she set to her power? The memory of the past is the more vivid in that she is again the center of observation and admiration. The real crux of the whole book is chap. 7: 1-5, beginning, "How beautiful are thy feet in sandals, O prince's daughter." Almost all commentators seem certain that this describes a dancer, and if the verses be not an interpolation, as W. R. Smith, in the Encyclopedia Britannica, suggests, they must

refer to the Shulamite. Yet it is difficult to conceive of her as engaging in a voluptuous oriental dance, even before the court ladies. May not the following suggestion be helpful: Let chap. 7: 1-5 be connected closely in thought with 6:9-"The daughters saw her and called her blessed"-and interpreted as the words with which the daughters praise her as she stands in their midst. Is there then anything that necessarily compels us to assume that she dances in their presence? Their praise is fulsome, and as they pass from one grace of her person to another there flashes through her mind the recollection of those first admiring exclamations which have already been commented on. I strongly incline to the view that 6:10-13 in the English, contains the thoughts which are passing through the Shulamite's mind simultaneously with the praise which the queens and concubines are showering upon her in 7: 1-5. When we come to the words (verse 5) "A king held captive in the tresses," we discover the animus of the whole passage—they are the final effort of the court to move her by appealing to her vanity and love of power. Solomon himself also makes one last attempt to shake her resolution. But she is strong now, and in verses 9b-10 she reiterates her devotion to her Beloved and her trials are ended. We see her next going forth with her Beloved and conversing with him. It is no revery this time, but a genuine reunion; it is not a vision, but a reality. Yet just as she had addressed the Daughters of Jerusalem after each vision with an adjuration, so here she addresses them again in almost the same words-only a slight note of scorn is introduced, "What reason have you in striving to stir up, to awaken love before it pleases" (8:4). It is in the concluding passages that the strongest arguments for the Shepherd Lover may be found. The suffixes in 8:5 are all masculine. "Under the apple tree I awakened thee" (masculine), indicating that the Shulamite is the speaker, a fact which seems fatal to the theory that Solomon is the Beloved, for he was not born in the north where this scene is evidently laid. Delitzsch seeks to break the force of the

argument by changing the pointing and reading the suffixes as feminine.

Again, verse 7, the Shulamite says, "If a man were to give all the substance of his house for love he would be utterly contemned." The Shulamite had been plied with the temptation of wealth and had overcome it.

Chapter 8: 8, 9, which, like so many other passages, is introduced abruptly, finds its justification in verse 10. She recalls the words she had heard her brothers use, and in her triumph recognizes that she has fulfilled all their desires. "I was a wall," she exclaimed, "worthy of the turret of silver, the allurements of the court were of no avail."

Then again (verse 12), "My vineyard, which is mine, is before me, thou, O Solomon, shalt have the thousand, and those that keep the fruit thereof, two hundred. Solomon is welcome to all his glory and his riches, if he will but leave me free to do what I will with mine own."

At last we hear the voice of the Beloved himself, asking to hear her voice, just as she had told of his doing in the first act, and she responds in words like those of 2:17, "Make haste, my Beloved, and be thou like to a roe or to a young hart upon the mountains of spices."

As a final argument for the introduction of a third character—the shepherd—may be urged the fact that, in that case, the climax comes naturally in the last chapter, the reunion with the Beloved. While according to Delitzsch's theory, at least, the climax is reached in the third chapter, where he supposes Solomon to marry the Shulamite, which makes the rest of the book read like an anticlimax.

To sum up briefly, there may be found in the book three main divisions or acts, 1:2-3:5; 3:6-6:3; 6:4-8:14.

Act I. has three well-marked scenes; first, a dialogue between Solomon and the Shulamite, with the daughters of Jerusalem as a chorus; second, a reminiscence in a revery of the shepherd lover; and third, a dream in which the Beloved is sought and found. The act ends with the words "I adjure you."

Act II. likewise has three scenes; first, Solomon addresses

the Shulamite, who seeks to avoid his compliments; second, a revery in which the Beloved appears before her mind only; and third, a dream in which the Beloved is lost, and in which the Daughters of Jerusalem appear to console her.

Act III. possesses three clearly-marked scenes: Solomon again addresses the Shulamite; she recalls the incidents of her meeting with Solomon's train, and finally rejects him; she then rejoins her Beloved, with whom she returns to northern Palestine.

Each act is introduced by the appearance of Solomon. A dream in which the Beloved is sought forms the concluding subject of the first and second acts, while the third act closes with the actual reunion with the Beloved. Each act, too, presents its own peculiar phase of temptation. The appeal to vanity, the glory of Solomon's personality, the love of power. But the fact that the book deals so largely with the play of emotions in the human heart makes it unlikely that it was ever composed for scenic representation.

A word or two concerning the interpretation. It is always best to put foremost the literal meaning, it is so easy to allegorize that we ought to lay some constraint upon ourselves in dealing with this book. But we need have no difficulty in presenting a clear-cut subject for the song on the simple literal theory. We see before us a soul assailed by the temptations of earthly honor and position, nevertheless retaining its integrity and fidelity. The book depicts the triumph of tried virtue, a subject by no means unworthy of the pen of inspiration. On this view it takes its place in the wisdom literature alongside of Ecclesiastes and Job.

Nevertheless there may be some shadow of right in the claims of the typical theory, provided they are not pressed too far. Marriage is so frequently in the Old and New Testament a type of the connection of God and his people, that in a book where the marriage relation and fidelity to it are so prominent, we can hardly avoid seeing, in the final outcome, an illustration of something higher. One thought in particular has grown out of this study. This little book is the record of a struggle and a victory, one temptation and trial follows another, but at last,

when all is over, there rises clear and sweet, like the notes of a soprano, the song of victory and peace, "Make haste, my Beloved, and be like to a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of spices."

There is a similar picture in the New Testament, the similarity of which must, however, be felt rather than reasoned out. In the last chapter of the Revelation, after all the struggle and turmoil and seeming defeat, there comes a period of rest, the clouds roll away, the sound of war and tumult cease and the Church triumphant emerges from the smoke of the conflict, faithful through all to the Lamb who has redeemed her. And then are heard again those clear bell-like notes, incomparably sweet and thrilling—"The Spirit and the Bride say come, and he that is athirst let him come . . . he that testifieth these things saith, yea, I come quickly. Amen, come Lord Jesus."

Are we not justified in using this little book to illustrate the longing of the Church for an absent Lord, and her faithfulness to him through every trial and temptation?

AN ANCIENT LETTER,

SOMEWHAT MODERNIZED IN STYLE

By ERNEST D. BURTON, . The University of Chicago.

To the members of the Christian Church in Thessalonica, Paul and Timothy and Silas send Greeting. The grace of God be with you, and may all things be well with you.

Whenever I pray I always give thanks to God concerning you, and remember continually before our heavenly Father the work to which your faith has impelled you, and the toil to which your love has led you, and the patient endurance which your hope for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ has given you. For I am confident respecting you, brothers beloved of God, that you are God's elect. For when we were with you and preached the gospel to you we had the consciousness that we were not uttering empty words, but that we were speaking in power, and with the Holy Spirit, and we were fully assured that our words were not to be without effect. Our conduct also on your behalf was consonant with our speech, as you, I am sure, remember. And you on your part accepted our message with a joy given by the Holy Spirit, and this even though you were subjected to sore persecution. Thus in your joy under persecution you became imitators both of us and our Lord Jesus, and in your turn also a pattern for imitation by all the Christians of Macedonia and Achaia. For by reason of your conduct the Lord's message has been sounded forth in Macedonia and Achaia, and your faith in God has been so spoken of everywhere, that we find the gospel preached in advance of us. For the people themselves are talking about you, and are telling how we came to you, and were received, and how you cast away your idols and turned to serve a God that is living and real, and to wait for his Son to come

from the heavens, even Jesus whom God raised from the dead and who is our Saviour from the wrath to come.

For you remember, brethren, that our coming among you was not as of men crushed and shorn of power; on the contrary, though we were fresh from the sufferings and outrageous insults which we had endured at Philippi, with confidence in our God we spoke out boldly and declared to you the gospel of God, even in the midst of much conflict. For our preaching has not its source in delusion on our part, nor in any selfish motive, nor is it uttered with intent to deceive our hearers, but we speak as is befitting men who have been entrusted by God with the gospel, not seeking to please men but God, before whose scrutiny our hearts, we know, are open. We can appeal to you that we never used flattery. God is our witness that no hidden covetousness moved us, and that we never sought the praise of men either yours or others; although we might have claimed honor as Christ's apostles. But we were as simple and frank as babes among you, and as free from selfishness as a nurse when it is her own child for whom she cares. Our hearts were so full of affection for you that we were glad not only to impart unto you the gospel, but to pour out our very lives for you, so dear had you become to us. I need not remind you of our labor and toil among you, how we worked night and day that we might not be dependent on you for support, and meantime preached the gospel to you. You are our witnesses and God also how holy and upright and blameless was our conduct toward you who believed, and how, as a father his children, we exhorted you and encouraged you and charged you to walk worthily of the God who called you unto his kingdom and glory.

We thank God continually also that when you heard our message, you not only received it, but accepted it as a message from God, as it is in fact, a divine word that works in the hearts of believers. For you, brethren, followed in the steps of the Christian churches in Judea, suffering the same things at the hands of your fellow-countrymen that they endured from the unbelieving Jews, who not only slew the Lord Jesus, as they had the prophets, but drove us out. They are displeasing to God

and are enemies of mankind, seeking to prevent us from preaching to the Gentiles that they may be saved. So do they continually fill up the measure of their sins. But the divine wrath is already upon them; their final judgment is near at hand.

But to return to our own affairs, having been separated for a time from you, dear brothers, out of sight I mean, by no means alienated in heart, we have by reason of this separation only the more earnestly longed with strong desire to see your faces. For we were on the point-I should say I, Paul, was-more than once, of coming to you, and were prevented only by obstacles interposed by Satan. For what have I to live for, what hope or joy or crown of rejoicing have I, if it be not in you and in the hope of presenting you before Jesus Christ when he comes. Verily you are my glory and my joy. When therefore I could no longer endure the suspense of absence from you and of ignorance concerning your state, I chose to be left alone at Athens and sent Timothy, our brother and God's servant in the work of the gospel of Christ, to strengthen and encourage you in the matter of your faith in Christ, that you might not be shaken in the persecutions that you are enduring. For you know yourselves that Christians must expect persecution; to this they are appointed. For when we were with you we told you beforehand that we were certain to be persecuted, and you know that it happened as we told you. When therefore I could no longer endure the suspense I sent to learn about your faith, fearing lest the tempter had tempted you and my labor should go for naught. But now that Timothy has come and brought me good news about your faith and love and has told me that you remember me with affection, continually longing to see me as I do to see you, I have been comforted about you, finding, in all my distress and affliction, consolation in your faith. For now we live if you stand fast in the Lord. How can I thank God enough for the joy with which we rejoice before God on your account, while night and day we pray most earnestly that we may see your faces and strengthen the weak places of your faith!

May our God and heavenly Father himself and our Lord Jesus Christ remove the obstacles in the way of our coming to you, and may the Lord make you increase and abound in love to one another and to all men, until your love equals that which we have toward you, and may he so establish your hearts in holiness that you may be blameless before our heavenly Father when our Lord Jesus Christ comes with all his holy ones.

Finally, brethren, by virtue of our spiritual union with the Lord Jesus, we entreat and exhort you that you will conduct yourselves as we taught you how to behave in order to please God. I know that you are thus behaving, but I beg you to abound more and more in such conduct. For you know what injunctions we gave you, having ourselves received them from the Lord Jesus. For it is the will of God that you should become holy, and in particular that you keep yourselves from fornication; let each of you have his own wife, and live in chaste and honorable marriage, not in the lustful manner which prevails among the nations that know not God; and let no one of you infringe upon a brother's rights in this matter, because God is an avenger concerning all these things, even as we told you before and enjoined you accordingly. For God called us not to live filthy lives but holy. Therefore if any one of you rejects this teaching, he rejects not a man but that God that gives his Holy Spirit unto you.

Now concerning mutual Christian love there is no need for me to write to you, for you yourselves are taught by God to love one another, and indeed you do love all the brethren in all Macedonia. But we exhort you brethren to continue improving, and to make it your ambition to be quiet, and to attend to your own business, and to work with your hands as we charged you to do, that you may have the esteem of those who are not Christians,

and may have enough for your needs.

And now brethren I desire to say a word about those who from time to time fall asleep in death, that you may not grieve, as do the heathen, who have no hope. For if, as we believe, Jesus died and rose again, so also will God through Jesus bring again with him those who have fallen asleep. For having received it from the Lord I give to you the assurance that those of us who shall be alive, that shall survive until the Lord comes, shall have no advantage over those that have fallen asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with voice of archangel and trumpet of God, and of those in Christ the dead shall rise first; then we, the living, that shall survive, shall together with him be caught up in the clouds into the air to meet the Lord. And so we shall always be with the Lord. So then comfort one another with these words.

But as to the times of these events, I need say nothing. For you yourselves know exactly that Jehovah's day comes as a thief in the night. When men are saying, Peace and safety, then sudden there comes upon them destruction, as travail comes upon the woman that is with child, and there is no escape. But you brethren are not in darkness to be overtaken, like thieves, by the day, for you are sons of light, sons of day. Belonging therefore not to darkness nor to night, let us not be asleep like the rest of the world, but let us be watchful and sober. For those that sleep sleep at night, and those that are drunk are drunk at night. But since we belong to day, let us be sober, and let us put on a breastplate of faith and love and as a helmet the hope of salvation. For we were not destined by God to be the objects of his wrath, but to attain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ; and he gave his life for us that whether our lives on earth are prolonged, or we sleep, we may in either case live, together with him. Therefore encourage one another and build one another up, as indeed you are already doing.

We entreat you brethren respecting your pastors who toil among you and are your religious leaders and admonitors, that you give them due recognition and that you esteem them very highly in love, because of their work. Live in harmony one with another. We beseech you brethren, admonish the disorderly, encourage the disheartened, sustain the weak, be patient with all. Let none of you return evil for evil to any one, but seek continually that which is for your mutual welfare and the general good. Rejoice always, pray continually, under all circumstances be thankful. For this is what God wills should through Jesus Christ come to pass respecting you. Quench not the Spirit, and do not disregard utterances of prophecy; put all

things to the test, that which is good hold fast, and from every kind of evil abstain. And may God himself, the God of Peace, sanctify you so that you may be perfect, and may you be preserved entire—spirit, soul, and body—to appear without blame when our Lord Jesus Christ comes. Faithful is he that called you, and he will do it.

My brothers, pray also for us.

Give Christian greeting unto all the brethren. I charge you before the Lord that this letter be read to all the members of the church.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

THE SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESUS.

By T. H. Root, The University of Chicago.

In using this term we wish to indicate not only that sphere in the study of the life of Christ which is of the greatest interest and importance, but also that point of view from which the whole life may be investigated most deeply. Our purpose in this paper is to indicate the nature of the problem presented in this term, and to consider some of its bearings.

1. The Nature of the Problem as an Historical Problem.—The term itself, the self-consciousness of Jesus, i.e., Jesus' own consciousness of himself, refers especially to Jesus' own conception of his personality, his work, his destiny-in these being involved his relation both to God and to man. It is evident that this subject not only takes us very deeply into the life of Christ, but that it also covers a very large portion of the life. The underlying reason for this latter fact is not hard to find. Jesus lived intensely in the life of his time. He was not a mere passive observer of events. He felt himself related to all that was about He regarded himself as in a special way related to the life of the Jewish people. So vital and so intense was this relationship that his consciousness of them was his consciousness of them in relation to himself, and his consciousness of himself was his consciousness of himself in relation to them. He had a work to do for them. His conception of them as well as his conception of himself were necessary elements in his conception of his work. He himself, in the fullness of his consciousness of himself, was in his work. Hence it is, since the records of his life are largely the records of his work,—his deeds and words in relation to the Jewish people, we see how, of necessity, the subject of the self-consciousness of Jesus covers so widely the study of his life. The same fact explains, too, why we are so

often tempted to use the wider term, consciousness instead of the narrower term, self-consciousness. It is simply because when we are studying his consciousness as witnessed in the gospel history, it is his self-consciousness we are confronted with. No life was ever so devoid of that which commonly goes by this term as was that of Jesus. The very intensity with which he related himself to those around him rendered such a state impossible. His intense consciousness of others is the correlative of his intense consciousness of himself. The correlation was perfect, resulting in perfect poise. In the sense that we have indicated no personality ever had a self-consciousness so deep and so all-pervading.

As we go deeper and deeper into the study of the life of Christ, this problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus becomes the central ultimate problem. Our first study is external. We learn the outer events and the environment of his life; the date and place of his birth and of his death; his parentage; his early home; the periods and events of his ministry; his followers; his opponents; his crucifixion; his resurrection. The study of the life from the external point of view leads inevitably to the study from the internal point of view, and the problems which begin to confront us, even when we have pursued the external study for a comparatively short time, soon reveal themselves as deeply imbedded and as interrelated in the unity of the life itself, and insoluble, save as we seek a solution there. We do not care here to enumerate those problems, but rather to emphasize, at the outset, the importance of recognizing their true nature as elements inherent in the problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus, and the necessity, in order to their solution, of regarding the self-consciousness of Jesus itself as the problem which underlies and includes them all. This study, though it seems to point to the internal life rather than to the external facts, does not minimize those facts. Rather it emphasizes them, giving them their true weight and importance, making them vitally fruitful, finding in them a transcendent value as something not in themselves external, but as the embodiment of the living Spirit,

testifying to the life within, as the imprint on the rock testifies to that which, in ages past, existed in the form of life itself.

The term may be objected to by some as being vague. It is, however, the only term that indicates the exact nature of the work before the student of the life of Christ. Indeed, if the term itself were not vague it would not adequately represent our. problem. Its very vagueness makes it a true designation. The nature of the problem itself, as a problem, is not vague—nor is the term vague. But because there is a problem, and because, in the very existence of the problem, there is something before us unknown, something vague, indefinite in outline, something enveloped, in part, in cloud and mist—it is for this reason that the term, so clearly defined in itself, yet so vague in so much of its content when applied to Jesus, is so fitting. What is the selfconsciousness of Jesus? What is its content? What was the exact nature, in general and in detail, of his conceptions of himself, his work, his destiny? What was his conception of his relation to God, and of his relation to man? Was there development in his consciousness? And if so, what were its stages, and what its content at its various stages?

Our question is thus seen to be one of fact. Though one in the solution of which deeply practical as well as deeply philosophical questions are involved as issues, it is itself a purely historical problem.

Whatever be our conception of Jesus at the outset, whether he be regarded as merely a preëminently good man, perhaps a perfect man; or whether he be held to be the Christ, the Son of God, the problem remains the same—one purely historical. And as an historical problem, it confronts all students of the Life of Christ as that in which alone there is any possibility of solution to the questions that arise concerning his nature. So far as we can gather from the evidence before us, what is the fact as to the consciousness of Jesus? What does a most careful, searching investigation into the documents before us, a most painstaking survey of all evidence, direct or indirect, give as to the consciousness of Jesus?

This remains, too, our problem, whatever be our belief or

theory as to the nature of those documents which purport to be the records of his life,—whether we hold a most conservative theory of inspiration, or whether we take them as human documents substantially true, or whether we regard them from the radical stand-point as a combination of fact and fiction, of substantial truth with accretions that are the result of pious fancy and superstitious reverence.

Even though there were entire unanimity as to the nature of the New Testament writings as in every respect credible witnesses to the life and teachings of Jesus, this problem would remain a most difficult one. For the question is one that necessarily goes below the text, whatever be the value we place upon the text. The problem presents to us, as its end, the organic unity of a life in which all the parts shall stand, as they must stand in such a unity, in vital and organic inter-relation. The question is not what is the sum of Jesus' teachings, or what the sum total of his deeds. These could easily be gathered, and, though with some difficulty, perhaps very great difficulty, yet in a manner approximately correct, could be classified and correlated. The question concerns the unity of the life itself, and this, in the sense in which it is sought in the problem before us, the narratives do not undertake to give. The writings of the New Testament are many in number, and, for the most part, without interdependence. They are varied in scope and purpose, and form classes widely dissimilar in nature. Each is only a partial record or witness, and this almost entirely from some other point of view than that which we are considering. Some give a purely objective narrative of deeds and teachings; others purely subjective, or else are not direct narratives at all, but are written with another purpose, as Paul's epistles. Take them as they are, with perfect credibility assumed, and a complete representation of the selfconsciousness of Jesus would be by no means an easy task. The problem would still remain one of the deepest interest and importance, one whose solution would be necessary before there could be the truest understanding of the life of Christ. The material given us in the records would still have to be classified, and given its true value as an interpretation of the inner life of

Christ. Its different elements would still have to be correlated according to the inner, vital relationships of the organic life which was their source.

And when there is difference of opinion as to the nature of the records, when part is rejected as untrustworthy and only part received, the problem, though remaining essentially the same, is very much complicated. Questions of literary criticism enter. We have not only the question, what is the consciousness of Jesus? given the records from which that may be determined, but the question as to what shall be accepted as evidence, the question of credibility, the question of date, of authorship, of method of composition.

It is when such secondary problems as these confront us that the true nature of our fundamental problem is most clearly seen, and the appropriateness of the term used to designate it rendered most evident. The questions of literary origins are themselves problems whose solution is necessary and incidental to the solution of the main problem; but it is the consciousness of Jesus, as such, that will be a necessary factor in determining these secondary questions. The parts acknowledged genuine, and the consciousness of Jesus as deduced from these, must be of primary importance in determining the nature and value of those parts whose credibility and genuineness are doubted.

We have been considering the nature of the problem as an historical problem. Let us turn to the sources to which we must go for its investigation.

2. The Sources. (a) Records of the Life.—Without considering all the New Testament writings, the bulk of the New Testament evidence may be divided into three classes. (1) The Synoptic Gospels; (2) The Fourth Gospel; (3) The Pauline Epistles. We will consider briefly the bearing of each.

(1) The Synoptic Gospels purport to be the record, direct or indirect, of eye witnesses of the events therein described. They are characterized by objectiveness of statement. Events are narrated and sayings recorded as they were enacted and spoken, and appeared to those who saw and heard them. The

Synoptic problem—the question as to the composition of these

gospels—is most difficult and intricate.

(2) The Fourth Gospel purports to have been written by that disciple who, of all the disciples, was most intimate with Jesus. It would therefore be of the first value in determining the consciousness of Jesus. It is characterized by subjectiveness, rather than objectiveness of statement. The writer shows us the inner consciousness of Jesus. Whereas, in the Synoptics, Jesus is portrayed objectively as he appeared to others, here he is represented subjectively as he really was in his own consciousness of himself. The value of this gospel as a source for the consciousness of Jesus is doubly great; in the first place, in that the writer is himself the most intimate of Jesus' disciples, and the one who, of all the disciples, was best adapted, by sympathy and insight, to understand him; and in the second place, in that the discourses are given as by Jesus himself. The form is thus the form of Jesus' own self-consciousness,—in the truest sense, subjective; and the voucher for the correctness of these discourses is no less than the "disciple whom Jesus loved."

But just here comes in the critical objection that John was not the author. Here then, evidently, we have a problem to solve before we can proceed further. It is a matter of vital import, as bearing on the evidence regarding Jesus' self-consciousness, whether the Gospel was written in the middle of the second century, as asserted by Baur; or whether at the beginning of the second century by one who was a follower of John; or whether the bulk of the material is Johannine, while the book itself is a compilation by a follower; or whether, last of all, it be really John's own writing. This is without doubt the most interesting and most important problem in New Testament criticism,—most interesting and absorbing in itself, and most important in its bearing on the deepest problem of the life of Christ.

(3) Of a far different sort from either of the above is the evidence furnished by the Epistles of Paul. While the Synoptics and John give direct evidence,—the former for the most part objectively stated, the latter for the most part subjectively stated, the evidence from Paul's epistles is indirect. Here, again, the

question of authenticity comes up. But here, fortunately, we have a general unanimity as to the genuineness of the most important of the epistles. So that, though the evidence is indirect, yet the historical student has the satisfaction of feeling that these epistles before him are actually the product of Paul's own thought, written within thirty years after the crucifixion. The bearing of these epistles as to evidence regarding Jesus' consciousness is not limited to deeds and sayings of Jesus therein recorded. This evidence is by no means so slight in volume as may be supposed. But there is another sort of evidence, also indirect, which is not so much measured by bulk as by intensity -though as to bulk it would be found on every page of the epistles,—and that is, the influence that Jesus had on Paul and the inference that can be derived therefrom as to Jesus' own character, and his own self-consciousness. No one questions the reality of Paul's convictions. No one doubts for a moment that Paul most honestly and intensely believed all he professed to believe, and that these epistles above referred to (the consensus is almost universal) are the true record of his consciousness. There are two questions here: (1) The nature of Paul's own religious consciousness, its elements, its intensity, the inner consistency between the ideals which he professed and the life he lived and deeds he accomplished; and (2) the source of this consciousness. Paul himself said, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." He declares that the intense religious life he lives—its thoughts, its ideals, its achievements are not primarily his, but are derived, and that from Jesus. Jesus' life is his, Jesus' purpose, principles, ideals, convictions live in him. Jesus' consciousness inspires his, and is the life of his. In how far then can we say that we know from this the consciousness of Jesus? Evidently here is evidence of the greatest value, provided Paul is right in his conviction regarding the direct relationship existing between Jesus' life and his own. This, while indirect evidence as to the exact content of Jesus' consciousness in the form in which that consciousness existed in Jesus himself, yet is most direct evidence of the closest sort as to the general nature of that consciousness. In fact this presents

a most vital and significant query,—whether such a life as that Paul lived, with his intense conviction as to the objective reality of those ideals that ruled him, with his intense belief as to the truth of those conceptions under which he lived and worked, could have been lived,—to say nothing of perpetuating itself in some degree through centuries to the present day—had it not been that that life in all its essential features closely corresponded with objective truth. It brings up the question whether Paul was laboring under hallucination, or whether it was indeed truth that was living in him. This is the first question; and the second is that of our problem,—whether and in how far the truth that lived in him was the same truth that lived in Jesus,—whether and in how far Paul's own consciousness may be taken as witness to that of Jesus.

To say nothing of other minor portions, these three classes, the Synoptic Gospels, the Fourth Gospel, and the Epistles of Paul, form the three great divisions of the New Testament. The New Testament writings, as we have briefly reviewed them, may be termed a direct source for the determination of the conciousness of Jesus. These are the records of the life. As another source, indirect, is to be mentioned the environment of the life. These two together, the historic record of the life, and the historic environment, form the source to which our study leads us.

(b) Environment of the Life.—Of great importance in determining what was the environment in which Jesus lived and under whose influence he developed, is the literature of the period. This gives to us the conceptions, ideals, expectations and hopes of the people. It is the direct product of the consciousness of the people, and is a direct witness to their life. It shows what was the atmosphere of the time. How truly representative it is of the life of the people as a whole, and of the age itself, must be shown by special study of the literature itself in its separate parts. But however isolated be the individual or the class of individuals by whom any portion of it may have been produced, each portion of it must be of some value as evidence to the actual currents of life of the time.

Of special value oftentimes is the literature in its direct bear-

ing on problems connected with our study. Take, for example, the problem of Jesus' own conception of himself as Son of Man, and his use of this term. Here it is absolutely necessary that we should know whether that term was current in the time of Christ and what signification was attached to it. Hence the necessity of investigating whether that term was used in other literature of the period than that of the New Testament, and when a book is found in which that term often occurs, and in which the features of one designated by that term are clearly sketched, then comes the necessity of determining the date of that book, and its origin, and its influence on the thought of the time. Such is the problem that confronts us in the Book of Enoch. The term Son of Man as used by Jesus takes us to the Book of Enoch, where the term is so frequent and the personage so clearly outlined. But to understand the Book of Enoch we must understand all that class of literature to which this special book belongs, viz., the apocalyptic literature; and to understand this special class we must be familiar with all the literature of the period. This one term, then, takes us to the Book of Enoch, this to apocalyptic literature, this to the literature of the period,—and here we find ourselves in currents so complex and varied that nothing short of a study of the whole period, in its history, its institutions, its traditions, will suffice for our understanding of them. The labor of many scholars, of varied individual equipment, and of diverse types of mind are necessary before we have firmly in our grasp the many elements essential to a truly satisfactory dealing with this problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus.

To know the influence that surrounded Jesus we must indeed be familiar with the whole life of the time. We must study its history, know its traditions, be at home in its institutions. We must in some way enter into the spirit of the time and get to know the genius of the people. Of special importance are those institutions round which the life of Judaism centered,—the school, the synagogue, the temple, the Sanhedrim—of these especially, most potent of all, most central of all, representing together so much of the nation's life and thought,—the syna-

gogue and the temple, with their representatives, the Scribes and the Priests. And the understanding of the history and institutions of the Judaism of that time, takes us inevitably back into the history and literature of the ancient people Israel, and of the nations whose influence entered into their destiny.

Whatever be the value which research shall show attaches to the literature of the period as bearing on our subject, supreme importance must be given to the Old Testament Scriptures. Of intrinsic importance, as containing the sublimest poetry and prophecy, and a system of law embodying the most profouud conception of God that has entered the mind of man, they are of especial interest to us in this connection, inasmuch as it was in the environment of their ideals and conceptions that Jesus lived and developed. It was in the Old Testament that Jesus found himself; that he became conscious of himself as the Messiah. It was the Old Testament whose law and whose prophecy he came "not to destroy, but to fulfil." If the culminating interest of the Old Testament Scriptures is in their conception and prophecy of a Messiah, then much light must be thrown upon our present topic when they are thoroughly investigated anew from the point of view of the content and of the development of the self-consciousness of Jesus.

These are the sources, direct and indirect, to which we must go,—the former, the historic records; the latter, the historic environment.

We have thus far considered briefly the fundamental importance of the problem, its historical nature, and the sources. There remain to be considered some further aspects of the problem, and some of its practical bearings.

ON THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

By the REV. ARTHUR WRIGHT, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge, England.

IV:

Did the crucifixion take place in the year 29 A.D., or in any other year between 27 and 35?

To argue this question at length would take a volume. Those who wish to see what has been done at it can read Wieseler's Synopsis, Salmon's Introduction to the New Testament, McClellan's New Testament, and an article in the Church Quarterly Review for January, 1892. I will try to state the facts briefly and make some observations upon them.

Christ suffered at the passover under Pontius Pilate, while Caiaphas was high priest, but while Annas, the last high priest but three, was still living and exercising paramount influence.

We do not know the date of the death or decline in power of Annas, but Pilate resided as Procurator in Judæa ten years (27-37 A.D.) Caiaphas began and ended his term of office sooner. The last passover at which he can have officiated was in A.D. 35. The period, therefore, in which the crucifixion must have taken place is narrowed down to the nine years 27-35 A.D.

Astronomical calculations have been several times made with a view to eliminate some of these years. For as the crucifixion took place on Friday, the 14th (or possibly the 15th) of Nisan, all those years in which the 14th of Nisan cannot have fallen on Friday (or Thursday) may be set aside. By this method the years 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, and 35 have been got rid of, and there remain only 27, 30, and 33, of which 27 is too early and 33 probably too late. Most of the authorities accept the year 30 A.D.

But, as I pointed out in the last paper, we are never sure to

a day which is the first day—or any other day—of the month, and often we cannot be sure to a month when the new year began. Thus an element of uncertainty is introduced which may vitiate all our calculations.

The writer in the Church Quarterly, to whom I have alluded, takes advantage of this to plead for the year 29. If in that year Nisan fell a month earlier than modern astronomy would allow, Friday, the 14th of Nisan, would coincide with March 18. And it is remarkable that March 18, 29 A.D., was given (Epiphanius tells us) in the Apocryphal Acts of Pilate as the true date of the crucifixion.

Dr. Lipsius has written a treatise on the Acts of Pilate (Die Pilatus-Acten, Kiel, 1886). The text of these acts, as it exists now, has been tampered with by some scribe who adhered to the chronology of our Lord's ministry, which was compiled by Eusebius. The result is a confused medley. But there is no reason to doubt that Epiphanius gives us the reading of the Acts which was current in his day, and the very strangeness of the date is considered to be a proof that we have here a genuine tradition.

How far is it supported by the gospels and by the opinion of the ante-Nicene fathers?

SS. Luke and John are the only evangelists who give us any further clue to the date. Let us look at S. John's statements first.

2:13. "The passover of the Jews [March-April] was nigh and Jesus went up to Jerusalem," cf. 2:23. [This visit was shortly after his baptism].

2:20. "In forty-six years was this temple built."

4:35. "Say ye not, four months more and harvest comes?"

5: I. "After these things was a feast [name not given] of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem."

[]6:4. "And the passover [March-April] the feast of the Jews was nigh." [Jesus spent this passover in Galilee].

7:2. "And the feast of the Jews, tabernacles [October] was nigh."

8:57. "Thou art not yet fifty years old."

10:22. "Then came the dedication [December] in Jerusalem; it was winter."

11:55. "And the passover of the Jews [March-April] was nigh." [At this passover the crucifixion took place].

S. Luke's list is shorter:

1:5. "In the days of Herod" the Great [who died B. C. 4, spring] Christ was born. S. Matthew (2:4) confirms this.

2:2. "There issued a decree from Augustus Cæsar that all the civilized world should be enrolled. This, a first enrollment, was made when Quirinius was proconsul of Syria."

[Quirinius was proconsul of Syria A.D. 6-10. It is not improbable that he had been proconsul once before in B.C. 4, but he could hardly have held a census of Judæa while Herod the Great or Archelaus reigned. [Archelaus was deposed A.D. 6].

3: i. "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar [A.D. 28-29] John the Baptist began to preach."

3:23. "And Jesus himself was beginning to be about thirty years old" at his baptism.

When we look at these dates the first question that strikes us is, How long did our Lord's ministry last? The earliest answer is that of Irenæus, who puts it at about twenty years, for he began to teach when about thirty years old (Luke 3:23) and continued till nearly fifty (John 8:57) and as he came to save and sanctify every time of life, it was fitting that he should pass through age as well as youth. Now Irenæus was born in the province of Asia, the very center of church life in the sub-apostolic age. No one had a better opportunity of getting correct information than he; and he declares that "all the elders who had known John the disciple of the Lord in Asia witness that he gave them this tradition." (Adv. Haer. 11:22, 4 ff., v. xxxiii. 3).

The Bishop of Durham (Dr. Westcott) in his Commentary on John (8:57) writes: "However strange it may appear, some such view is not inconsistent with the only fixed historical dates which we have with regard to our Lord's life, the date of his birth, his baptism, and the banishment of Pilate."

Suppose the crucifixion to have taken place at the latest pos-

sible date, viz., A.D. 35. Fifty years from that would bring us to 15 B.C. Our Lord, if born then, would have been eleven years old at Herod's death, and the flight into Egypt (Matt. 2:13) must either be rejected as unhistorical or must have lasted several years, and would thus come into conflict with S. Luke 2:39-41, in which we read that Joseph and Mary, after performing all the requirements of the law respecting Mary's purification, returned to Nazareth and dwelt there, except that they annually visited Jerusalem to keep the passover. Again Tiberius celebrated his decennia or tenth year festivities in A.D. 24. His fifteenth year, therefore, was 28-29, at which date our Lord would have been forty-four years old, and not, as S. Luke affirms, about thirty (Luke 3:23). In the third place, the census under Quirinius (Luke 2:2) will be twenty-one years wrong and quite impossible. I wish that the bishop had stated his exact meaning more clearly. It seems to me that ten years is the utmost length to which we can stretch the ministry without throwing overboard S. Luke's chronology altogether. That it really did last about ten years I think not improbable. It would be natural to say "You are not yet fifty" to a man of nearly forty, but, bad though the Jews were as observers, they would hardly say this to a man of thirty-two, especially when "You are not yet forty" would be more suitable for rhetorical reasons, and there does not seem to be any mystical significance in the number fifty that they should choose it on that account.

If the ministry lasted about ten years, the gospels are seen to be more fragmentary than ever, S. John's feasts are not a complete list, and new significance is given to his rhetorical hyperbole in 21:25: "There are many other things which Jesus did, and if they be written every one, I suppose that not even the world itself would contain the books which should be written."

On the other hand, the Gnostics, the Clementine homilies, Clement of Alexandria, and other ante-Nicene authorities restrict the ministry to one year, in defense of which opinion they quoted the verse, "To preach the acceptable year of the Lord" (Luke 4:19). These persons have some right to claim the synoptists

on their side. The entire absence of dates from S. Mark gives the impression that no great length of time is described in his gospel, and that impression is heightened by his fifty-six "straightways." If the events really cover a period of three or more years, my contention of the unchronological character of S. Peter's memoirs is fully established. S. Luke seems to me either to have held that the ministry lasted one year only or to have put the crucifixion about A.D. 33. When he says that the Baptist began to preach in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (A.D. 28-29) he cannot leave more than a year for the ministry unless the crucifixion be postponed. It is easy, as we have seen, to postpone it, but we should not thereby set matters right, for S. Luke's date for the commencement of the ministry would clash with John 2:20, where we read, "In forty-six years was this temple built." Herod began to restore the temple in B.C. 20 (Josephus B. J. 1:21 (16) 1. Antt. 15:11 [14:1]). Fortysix years from that date will bring us to A.D. 26, or to the passover of 27.

The pressure of this difficulty has so long been felt that commentators have suggested that S. Luke calculated the reign of Tiberius, not from the death of Augustus in August, A. D. 14, but from a supposed partition of the imperial power two years and a half earlier. For this partition there is no warrant, and we can have little hesitation in setting it aside as a fiction suggested by harmonists in despair.

I have shown that all the chronological data in S. Luke are "editorial notes" and stand on a different footing historically from the rest of the gospel. They are S. Luke's own ideas, the result of his private investigations. It seems to me to be impossible to get over the difficulties which Schürer in his "History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ" has shown to lie in the account of the census (Luke 2:2). There is a similar difficulty about Theudas in Acts 5:36, unless Josephus has made a mistake, which is not unlikely. It is of the utmost importance in apologetics to recognize different degrees of historical attestation in the gospels. There are occasionally weak links. We

¹ Composition of the Four Gospels, pp. 21-22.

must not make the strength of the chain depend on them, but deny that the gospels are constructed on the chain principle.

But how did those authors who reduced the ministry to one year explain S. John? It was suggested by M. H. Browne (Ordo saclorum, 1844) that the defining words "the passover" in John 6:4 are a mistaken gloss, and that the verse originally ran "Now the feast of the Jews was nigh," by which statement a Jew would mean the feast of tabernacles (the same feast which is mentioned in 7:2), but a Christian would more naturally understand the passover. The words in question are found in every extant manuscript and version of S. John, nor is any doubt of their genuineness asserted by ancient writers. Nevertheless Dr. Hort has obelized them in Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, rather for calling attention to ancient chronologies than to assert that they are really spurious. Unless they were absent from certain manuscripts, he does not see how they can have been overlooked.

If they were struck out, S. John's chronology would become beautifully simple. His feasts would run, passover (March-April; 2:13, 23), pentecost (?) (May; 5:1), tabernacles (October; 6:4; 7:2), dedication (December; 10:22) passover (March-April; 11:55), and the whole period would cover one year together with a few weeks which intervened between the baptism and the first passover.

We must not bring up John 4:35 to disprove this view. That verse may mean "Harvest is four months distant from the present moment." And if it does mean that, Christ must have been speaking in or near December, for the Jewish harvest fell in April; whereas the one-year hypothesis would require him to be speaking shortly after passover, in April itself. But the verse is almost certainly a proverb: "Say not ye [when you have planted your barley.] four months more and harvest comes?" Barley was planted about the end of November. Four months is the minimum time between the close of sowing and the commencement of reaping.

The one-year ministry would solve many difficulties. It is the only scheme which reconciles S. Luke, S. Matthew and S. John. Possibly it is true. What I wish to emphasize is this consideration, that if we cannot positively decide between one year and ten, we must be prepared to keep our minds open on many biblical controversies.

Eusebius decided that our Lord's ministry lasted four years. He assumed that the unnamed feast in S. John 5:1 was a passover. Many students at a very early date adopted this view, for S. John's curiously indefinite statement, "After these things was a feast of the Jews," was altered in the second century into the more natural "the feast," which Christians took for the passover. The first year, therefore (which was probably a short one) ended, according to Eusebius, with the passover of 2:13, 23; the second year with the supposed passover of 5:1; the third with the passover of 6:4, and the fourth with the passover of II:55, at which the crucifixion took place. Eusebius, whose chronological system obtained wide acceptance, argued thus: (1) We read in S. Luke 3: I of the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas. Our Lord's ministry must have begun under Annas and ended under Caiaphas. Three high priests came between them. Allowing them one year apiece (John 11:49-51; 18:13) we get four years. (2) Our Lord's ministry began in A. D. 29, the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and a solar eclipse took place during the crucifixion. Phlegon mentions an eclipse of the sun in the year A. D. 33. This also gives four years. (3) Daniel, 9:27, speaks of three and a half weeks, at the end of which the sacrifice and meat offering should cease. Assume that each week represents a year and you get three years and a half for the ministry.

The first of these arguments rests on a mistake. S. Luke says that when the Baptist came forth "Annas or Caiaphas (as we should express it) was high priest." Caiaphas was the nominee of Rome, Annas exercised the real power. The faithful hesitated to give the sacred title to the puppet who depended for his position on the will of the foreigner. The second argument rests on a double mistake. A solar eclipse cannot happen when the moon is at the full, as must be the case during passover, nor can it last much longer than eight minutes. True, Eusebius



might quote S. Luke who, according to the true text, attributed the term three hours' darkness to an eclipse of the sun; but this he did in one of his "editorial notes," which, as we have seen, express his own opinions which are not always warranted. Of all the schemes which we have examined, this four years (or rather three years and a half) scheme of Eusebius has been the most popular because of the prophecy of Daniel, the meaning of which is at least uncertain. It is supposed also to be supported by S. Luke 13:7, "Behold there are three years from the time that I come seeking fruit on this fig tree," though the number "three" in a parable is more likely to have a mystical meaning of completeness, as in S. Luke 11:5; 13:21, 32.

Much more may be said for the scheme which makes the ministry last two years and a fraction. This reduces the discrepancy between SS. Luke and John, suits the date of the temple building, and accords with the Acts of Pilate.

The unnamed feast of S. John 5: I is not in the least degree likely to be passover, pentecost or tabernacles. It is much more probably a minor festival. Wieseler, Meyer and Godet argue for Purim (March), Dr. Westcott for trumpets (September)

We have passed in review a great number of subjects of engrossing interest to all biblical students. We have shown that many received opinions need revision. We have pointed out places where further investigation is desirable and we have submitted some new proposals. Our general conclusion is, that certainty is unattainable, but unless the ministry lasted about ten years, the most probable date for the crucifixion is 9 A.M. to 3 P.M., on Friday the fourteenth of Nisan, A. D. 29, and that the fourteenth of Nisan probably fell on March 18.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Institute will be held in New York City during the last week in October.

At that meeting will be discussed a plan for extending the work of the Institute into all departments of biblical work in a systematic way. These departments will include the Theological Seminary and the College, through publications; ministers and Bible students, through correspondence work; the general public, through reading courses, Extension lectures and summer schools, the Young Peoples' Societies, through study courses, the Sunday Schools, down to the primary grade, through lessons and examinations.

The plan thus embraces a complete organization for biblical work from the highest to the lowest grade. It will be stated in complete detail in the November number of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

Correspondence Courses: At this season of the year it may be well to call the attention of the readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD who are planning their work for the year to the correspondence courses of the Institute. They are as follows:

- 1. Hebrew, First Course: for Beginners. One who has never seen a Hebrew letter can take this up with confidence. Every step of the work will be made very clear. In order, however, to master Hebrew etymology, a second course is necessary.
- 2. Hebrew, Second Course: for Reviewers, i. e., those who have become "rusty" in their Hebrew, and for those who have completed the First Course. This course completes the study of the grammatical principles—includes the reading of 24 chapters in the Hebrew Bible, and the acquisition of a fair vocabulary.
- 3. Hebrew, Third Course: for those who are acquainted with Hebrew, but would like to pursue an organized course of advanced study. It is a critical and scholarly study of Exod. I-24.
- 4. Hebrew, Fourth Course: Post-exilic Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, for those who have attained considerable proficiency. The course is one which calls for much research and independent thought. It is a most practical course for a pastor.

The work is unrivalled for accuracy, completeness and method. Hundreds of ministers and teachers pursue it for the sake of acquiring a method and a sound stimulus for all other study.

- New Testament Greek, First Course: for Beginners, including the mastery of the Greek of John 1-4, of the principles of the language and the memorizing of about 300 Greek words.
- 6. New Testament Greek, Second Course: for Reviewers completing the study of the text of John's Gospel and of the grammar and syntax of New Testament Greek, together with the reading at sight of the First Epistle of John.
- 7. Aramaic: for Beginners. A comparative and analytical study of the Targum of Onkelos on Gen. 1-10 in connection with the Hebrew. Reading of selections from the Targums and of all the Biblical Aramaic.
- 8. Arabic: for Beginners, leading to a mastery of the Quran. It includes the reading of Gen. 1 and 2, and about 20 Suras of the Quran, with a mastery of the grammatical material and vocabulary.
- 9. English New Testament, First Course: The Gospel of Luke. A course which should be taken first by those who wish thoroughly to master the New Testament. It is treated inductively, according to a plan which harmonizes happily with the logical structure of the Gospel, and leads to the mastery of the plan of the Gospel and its development, the critical and other questions that arise, the historical background and the fundamental teachings.
- strong course, developed on an inductive plan especially suited to the peculiar structure of the book. One who has mastered this course, as well as that on the Gospel of Luke, will have carefully studied all the material of the New Testament bearing on the life of the Christ.
- 11. English New Testament, Third Course: The Life of Christ according to the Four Gospels, an outline course on a simple but effective plan. A course well adapted for use in Bible Classes. The advanced grade of studies may be taught by correspondence to individuals.
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- 13. English Old Testament, First Course: Samuel, Saul, David and Solomon. A course which serves as an introduction to the historical and critical study of Old Testament. It includes the biblical material of I. Samuel to II. Kings Q. A very stimulating and suggestive course.



Exploration and Discovery.

SOME EGYPTIAN NAMES IN GENESIS—A NEW INSCRIPTION OF THE OLDEST PERIOD, ETC.

By James Henry Breasted. Berlin University.

In accordance with a purpose already expressed in a former number of this journal, the writer would like to present herewith, the latest identifications of some of the more important proper names in Genesis, which are of undoubted Egyptian origin. Professor, formerly Dr. Steindorff of this University and assistant director of the Royal Museum, now just appointed to succeed Ebers in Leipzig, has recently presented the true solution of the first of the three names in Gen. 41:45, Zaphenath-paneah, which has long been a puzzle to Egyptologists. In the latest period of Egyptian history, that is, not earlier than the twentieth dynasty, but more frequently in the twenty second, and with marked frequency in the twenty-sixth, or Saitic dynasty (i. e., after 700 B. C.), occurs a series of names having the following form:

Speaks-[god's name]-he-lives, or, in good English, "the god speaks and he lives." With a name of this sort, Steindorff has identified the name Zaphenath-paneah. Let the English reader bear in mind, that neither in the Hebrew or Egyptian original were the vowels written, and that only consonants are to be taken into account. The consonants, as written in our English transcription then, compare with the Egyptian as follows:

Rev. Vers., z—ph-nth—p—nh Egyptian, d—p'—nt—f—'nh Speaks-the-god-he-lives.*

Into the identification of consonants, it is impossible to enter here, but even the exclusively English reader cannot fail to see the similarity. In the above name it is interesting to note that no particular god as Amon or Re' is named, but only "the god." That this should indicate a monotheistic feeling in applying the name is hardly possible, though Lagarde, whose explanation of the name was ungrounded, thought this to be the case.

The second name in the above verse is, in the English spelling, Asenath.

*The Egyptian consonants for "speak" are dd and for "god" are ntr, but the final d and r are lost in the later period, as the Coptic and many Greek transcriptions show.

Names of this form are to be found in the middle, and even in the old Empire (c. 2900—2500 B. C.) At this time, however, the name was very rare, and it is only in the twenty-first dynasty and subsequently (after c. 1040 B. C.) that it occurs with any frequency. Written with its consonants only, the name according to the English spelling is snth. Of these, the s is the remainder of an old word ns, meaning "belonging to." The n, however, was easily lost, as many Greek transcriptions of similar names show, e.g., Sminis, Sbendetis; then to render pronunciation easier an e was often prefixed to the s. This prosthetic vowel was represented by Aleph in the Hebrew spelling, and becomes a in our English transcription Asenath. The remainder of the word, nth, or n and an aspirated t, furnishes the consonants of the name of the goddess Neit, written in Egyptian Nt. The whole name therefore means "belonging to Neit."

The third name, spelled in our English version Pöti-phera, is unknown, either to the old, middle, or new empire, and appears for the first time in the twenty-second dynasty (i. e., after 930 B.C.). It is rare, however, until the twenty-sixth dynasty (seventh century B.C.) Like the two preceding, it is formed with the name of a god, thus combined "whom-gave + god's name," or in good English "whom the god gave." Spelled with the consonants alone, as was done above, the name is thus compared with the Egyptian:

The god here used is Re', or the sun-god, with whom, in this late time, all other gods were identified, and hence his name comes to be used as the ordinary word for god and receives the article as above.

Now if the reader has noted the dates at which these names occur, he has observed that the second only, Asenath, could have been in existence in the time of Joseph; that further, these three names could not have occurred contemporaneously before 930 B. C., that is to say, not even in the time of Moses, much less that of Joseph. But the investigation furnishes further, a very interesting result, when we note the period at which these names for the first time became common, so that, for instance, Poti-phera might have been the name of one out of every three men; this period is the twenty-sixth dynasty, and it is to this period that the evidence of these names would point for the origin of the passage in Genesis where they occur. This is quite in harmony with the results of criticism, and coming thus from an independent historical source is doubly convincing. The writer of the passage, as is so often the case with the chronicler, simply reads back into the past, the conditions (in this case names) which he finds common in his own time.

In this connection, the identification of two names in Gen. 10:13-14, may be added, viz: Naphtuhim and Pathrusim. The second of these (removing the Hebrew plural ending im) has been identified with the Egyptian p' t' rsi

"the south land." On the basis of this identification, Erman has corrected the word Naphtuhim to correspond to the Egyptian p' i' mhi "the north-land,"—a correction in which he is certainly amply justified. The two words therefore mean nothing more nor less than upper and lower Egypt—a division known in the earliest times, and by reason of which, the nation was so often called on the monuments "the two lands."

The past year has witnessed the identification of an interesting inscription long known to exist in Hauran, on the east side of Jordan, but never before investigated. From a photograph and a squeeze, both the work of Herr Schumacher, Professor Erman has been enabled, by long and close inspection of the faint impressions, to determine the nature of the inscription or of the bas-relief, for it is more than a mere inscription. Cut into the rocky wall was the figure of a Pharoah offering with outstretched arms a tiny figure of the goddess Ma't or Truth to a god, here pictured as the standing figure of a man. It is a representation common enough in Egypt, on tombs, in temples, in stone-quarries, or wherever a blank wall offered opportunity. The interest here, however, centers on the identity of this Pharoah, who turns out to be Ramses II, and the fact that his suzerainty extended to the east of Jordan is not without interest. Though the much injured name of this king is still readable, Wesr-m'a'-re' chosen-of-Ra," that of the god is not Egyptian, and offers an unknown combination of consonants. It is undoubtedly some local Canaanitish god, so obscure as to be unknown to us.

Schiaparelli, the Italian orientalist, has recently offered the learned world an intensely interesting find, in the discovery and immediate publication of an unknown inscription of the oldest period, as it belongs in the sixth dynasty. For his speedy publication of the document, all credit is due to the Italian scholar, but his unfamiliarity with the language of this archaic period, has much crippled his translation. The inscription was found in the grave of one Hir hwf in Assuan, a prince of Elephantine, under two kings of the sixth dynasty, and must be dated at the latest before 2500 B.C. Of the two parts of the inscription, one recounts three journeys of Hir hwf, and the other contains a letter of the king in reply to one from Hir hwf. The three journeys described, were directed chiefly to a land called Im'm, and Erman's investigations have identified this land with the Soudan, or a region in the Soudan. That Egypt at this remote period should have established connection with, and imported products from the Soudan, was something as little suspected by Egyptologists as the lively intercourse between the Pharaohs and the kings of the Mesopotamian valley, which the El Amarna tablets have shown existed a thousand years later. Yet such is the result which the inscription of Hir hwf establishes beyond a doubt, and the Soudan question is older than any diplomat of to-day ever dreamed.

In view of the above inscription, and the great linguistic difficulties which it, along with the pyramid texts offers, it will not be without interest to the

reader to know that Erman's new grammar of the "Old Egyptian" is now on the press. This work is the first scientific treatment of the old language that has yet seen the light, Erman having already treated of the later language in his "Neuaegyptische Grammatik" and "Die Sprache des Papyrus Westcar." These books, with the new Coptic grammar of Steindorff, which is also in press, will open this important field of philology, history, and archæology to many, who otherwise could never have found their way through the maze of unscientific and antiquated treatises which have so long cost the study of Egyptology its proper recognition as a science.

Synopses of Important Articles.

A PROPHET'S VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL ETHICS. By Rev. John Taylor, in *The Expositor* for August. Pp. 96-107.

Amos left Bethel not because of alarm, but because, in his opinion, his further stay would be useless. When he leaves, his work is unfinished, his preaching had been a failure, but the matter of it was true. He is the first to have conceived the idea of recording the sermons which he had preached. In the written résumé touches are added. In this putting together of what had been spoken he prefixes chapters 1:2 to 2:3, in order to show his brethren in the North that he did not regard them as the only sinners. These chapters contain a rapid survey of the doings of the Syrians, the Philistines, the Phoenicians, Edom, Ammon and Moab. (1) Israel's history had been largely affected by that of Damascus, but Damascus had been guilty of the greatest cruelties, notwithstanding they had knowledge of the divine will. "Cruelty to the conquered" is a sin against the law written in the heart. "The aptness to deny the rights of man when the man is an open foreign foe" is the first misdeed against which the prophet of Tekoa speaks. Because of this sin the city shall be destroyed. (2) The Philistines, Israel's neighbors on the southwest, are guilty of a meaner vice-making raids for slaves. With limited power, but great spite, they continue hostile to their foe. "The craftiness, the pitilessness, the sordid selfishness of a people, small in every sense of the word, is branded here." "The slave hunter is the meanest of creatures." For this crime Philistia shall perish. (3) Next to slave-hunting is slavedealing. Of this crime against international ethics, the Phœnicians are guilty, and besides this traffic in men on the part of Tyre was a breach of the covenant of brothers, whether Tyre committed the crime against other Phoenician or Canaanite peoples or against the Hebrews, in violation of the brotherly covenant that had so long subsisted between them. A covenant is a covenant. (4) Edom has pursued his brethren with the sword. Edom was always ready to take advantage of the distress of Judah. Any natural feelings of pity which Edom may have felt were crushed down. The hate of the Edomites was carefully treasured up. They were guilty of the sin of fostering and perpetuating an anger that ought to have died. (5) The desire for increase of territory was one with which the prophet had no sympathy. Ammon commits the bloodiest atrocities in order to secure an enlargement of border. The prophet is filled with indignation at the ripping up of women with child-a cruelty than which a greater can hardly be named. Ammon for this shall be carried off by her foes. (6) The degradation of one's enemy by insults heaped upon a dead body deserves punishment. It is a national crime to illtreat the bodies of the dead; a crime for which Moab shall perish. The international code of Amos thus presented is chiefly occupied with war. However defective this code may be it is clear that it exhibits a loftier standard of international ethics than the nations of Christendom have observed.

The writer's introductory remarks as to the origin of these passages is entirely without basis. There seems to be no good reason why this chapter should not have been one of the sermons preached by Amos in the northern kingdom. It was necessary for Amos to catch the ear of the people whom he wished to influence. His introductory sermon, therefore, tells the people of Israel of the destruction which is coming upon others. Such words would be accepted with great favor. As soon, however, as the prophet has secured their attention, and made clear to them that a universal judgment is about to be executed, he unmasks himself with all the strength and vigor of his personality, and hurls out against Israel herself and Judah, his own land, the threats of coming destruction because of sin against Jehovah.

The presentation of the thought, aside from the unfounded theory of the introduction, is most interesting and valuable.

W. R. H.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF EZRA IV. 6-23. II. By THE RIGHT REV. LORD ARTHUR C. HERVEY, D.D., in *The Expositor* for July, 1893. Pp. 50-63.

The difficulty lies in attempting to explain the relation of the above-mentioned verses to their context. Apparently and on first reading, they seem to say that Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes came between the reigns of Cyrus and Darius. Several hypotheses have been proposed to wipe out this blot. They are manifestly so unreasonable that they easily vanish before a full study of the light. The true explanation lies in the supposition that the later compiler, in putting together the hindrances to the building of the temple in the days of Zerubbabel, adds similar instances from the times of Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes. He does not attempt a chronological order, but simply to enumerate the difficulties with which the chosen people contended in the building of their temple and city. Possibly the same compiler who did this also inserted the second chapter out of Nehemiah's sources. It is no objection that these verses and on through 6:18 are Aramaic. It may have been that there was a complete Hebrew narrative of this record, and the substitution of Aramaic therefore may be purely accidental. This whole study, however, gives us the true composition of Ezra, and the difficulties of chronology, names, numbers, and incongruous history vanish away. Ezra tells a consistent and instructive story.

BALAAM: PROPHET AND SOOTHSAYER. By REV. DAVID MERSON, B.D., in *The Thinker* for September, 1893. Pp. 215-223.

We shall endeavor to dig down to the secret spring of action in this "strange mixture of a man." Everything about him seems to be awry.

There is a complete rupture between his words and his actions. There is the appearance of wavering at times, but not the wavering of weakness—it is the volition of a strong mind. The actions of a man at the supreme moment of his life are the best test of what he really is. This crisis reveals the character. We must let Scripture tell its own tale about Balaam, and then draw the inference that the premises warrant. Two opposite and extreme views of his character have been reached as a result of the separate study of the two sides of his nature. Neither of these is correct. Let us examine the evidence. Was he a prophet of Jehovah? Not in the same sense as Elijah and Isaiah. For they were prophets under the covenant and loyal to God and to the truth, while Balaam was outside the covenant and proved false to the cause he represented.

To understand Balaam we must study him in his surroundings. He lived amid idolaters and eastern superstitions. He was a representative of monotheism charged to keep alive the knowledge of one God, though frightfully degrading his mission by divination. Soothsaying became jugglery and magianism magic. Balaam's profession had sunk so low that it seems to have been engaged in for the benefit of the class. The meanest spirit pervaded his work as a prophet. He was accustomed as a diviner to take a fee for his services, but when delivering the message of God he had no right to exact hire. In this case he desired so to modify the message as to entitle him to Balak's reward. He erred in carrying the commercial spirit into the spiritual sphere, and acting as if God's favor or frown could be bought for money. This was his fatal error, and shows that one with great gifts is often far removed from a gracious heart.

There are similar instances among those who enjoyed greater privileges than Balaam. We find Saul, and "the man of God who came out of Judah" (I Kings 13:1); the former wilfully broke through divine restraints and rushed headlong to ruin; the latter, though at one time-under divine inspiration, passed under a cloud in an act of deliberate disobedience. Judas Iscariot, Simon Magus, and Demas made shipwreck on the same rock of worldliness, avarice, and greed. They used their spiritual privileges for unspiritual ends. Balaam's case was not unique. They all saw the light, but wilfully shut their hearts against it. They saw the better, but followed the worse.

Let us follow this seer in his crooked career. His reputation as given by Balak warrants the inference that God had spoken through him in the past—that he was a man gifted with a real prophetic insight and spirit. This gift, however, was no safeguard against error in conduct. When appealed to by Balak he was much in the same position as Elisha when Naaman brought him presents as an inducement to cure the leper of his disease. The temptation was the same in both cases, but how different was the conduct of the two tempted prophets! The contrast shows the point where Balaam went wrong. His reply to the deputation contains an implied desire to go, and Balak takes

advantage of it. He knew his man and worked on his weaknesses. By and by, at the call of a second deputation, his scruples give way and he goes. His sudden arrest on the way reveals his motive, and brings him to his senses. It is sufficient to say that the ass was understood by Balaam only. In fact the narrative requires such explanation. With apparent submission he proceeds on his way, and gives utterance to transcendent truths. He occupies a distinct place in the scheme of divine revelation. Though not a "holy man of old," he nevertheless received and delivered a divine message. In any theory of inspiration this phenomenon must be reckoned with.

The closing tragedy reveals the depths of degradation to which this gifted man had sunk. He had been deterred from publicly cursing Israel, but he had a more effective method of bringing down the curse which Balak desired. Scripture utters the final sentence on Balaam. Richly endowed, he neglects the fear of God for his greed of gain, and in his final pursuit of the prize dashes upon the rocks. His career remains a perpetual light-house to warn those who deliberately forsake the favor of God and their duty.

PRICE.

Samson: Was He Man or Myth? By Rev. Prof. W. Garden Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., in *The Expository Times* for September, 1893.

To prove the story of Samson a myth is to increase the difficulties already existing. One accepts the idea of myth in any case only because "it makes the narrative more reasonable, more harmonious, more natural." If the assumption of myth makes it more inconsistent, more purposeless, it should not be accepted. Four considerations oppose the hypothesis of myth: (1) If only a mythical story, the circumstances connected with the birth of Samson would surely have been developed into something very different from that which we find given as his life. How, unless it is historical, may we connect the exploits and jokes, the savagery and recklessness, the lack of gravity and even decency, with the circumstances of his birth, which certainly would have led us to look for something holy and angelic? (2) If the story is a myth, why does it designate him by the sacred character of Nazarite, an order of the highest dignity, representing composure of mind and control of body, and at the same time describe him as one who outrages the office of Nazarite in his ordinary habits and demeanor? Why should it represent him as especially set apart and given strength to resist one form of bodily appetite, and at the same time as the slave of an appetite still worse? (3) If a myth or legend, how is the service which Samson rendered to his country to be explained? Samson upon the whole sustains good feelings toward the Philistines. He attacks them only in revenge for some personal injury. His work is wholly personal. He is not a hero whom men love. He has no particular interest in his people. There is nothing in the representation which accords with the legendary spirit. (4) The legendary theory is incompatible with the treatment received by Samson from the tribe of Judah. There is no reference of

any respect for him on the part of the people. He leads them to no great deliverance. He seems to have moved about all alone. Why did not the tribes rally about him and allow him to lead them to victory? As a matter of fact they scolded him, laid hold of him and bound him to deliver him into the hands of their enemies. Is this the representation of a myth? "What glory could such legends bring either to the hero or to the nation?"

But from the ordinary point of view how shall the narrative be explained?

(1) Samson was raised up for a special service, gifted in one respect, though defective in all others. In this respect he was like every man raised up by God to do his work. This great gift was faith, and in Samson's case to it was added extra bodily strength. He did not act solely to revenge personal injuries. His last act was something more than the act of personal injury. He desires to show the inferiority of the Philistines' God. (2) It is to be remembered that Samson never used his supernatural strength for his personal advantage. What might he not have done? But so far as the record goes this strength is never manifested except against the enemies of his country. Why did he not crush the Philistine power? Because the tribes did not gather around him? Milton's tribute is to be indorsed—

"Living or dying thou hast fulfilled
The work for which thou wast foretold
To Israel, and now liest victorious
Among thy slain."

An interesting, and, as far as it goes, satisfactory defense of the historical character of the narrative concerning Samson.

W. R. H.

THE MIRACULOUS CONCEPTION AND MODERN THOUGHT. By PROFESSOR JAMES ORR, D.D., Edinburgh, in *The Thinker* for July, 1893.

A recent ecclesiastical decision in Germany has again brought into prominence the question: How far the miraculous conception is an essential part of the faith of the Church about Christ. The decision referred to is that of Herr Schrempf, a young Würtemberg pastor, who a year ago was deposed by his ecclesiastical superiors for his refusal to use the so-called Apostles' Creed in the public service of baptism. The controversy brought about by this case has been heated, Harnack and other writers of Ritschlian tendency vigorously defending Herr Schrempf.

There are some theologians—whose Christianity Professor Orr does not dream of doubting—who hold that the narratives of the miraculous conception might conceivably be regarded as legendary additions to the original Apostolic tradition, and yet faith in Christ himself, as respects the main features of his character and claims, might be thought not to be affected. The immediate object of faith, they contend, is Christ's person,—Christ himself; whether he came into the world in a supernatural manner is a secondary

question to be decided on historical grounds. But it may be, says Professor Orr, that faith in Christ and the doctrine of the supernatural birth are not so loosely related as is thus supposed. "It may very well be that Christ's person is the direct and immediate object of faith, and yet that, in the nature and reality of things, the supernatural birth is the necessary presupposition of that person, and therefore a fact which faith, whether at first it realizes all that is implied in it or not, is vitally concerned in holding fast." We may regard as sound that instinct of the early church which led them to place the supernatural birth among the few fundamental articles of the earliest creed.

Not only without the church, but within the church, from Schleiermacher down, the tendency has been strong to dispute the historical character of the narratives of the miraculous conception, and to treat the belief in the fact as

at least unessential.

 Critically, the tendency is to regard the narratives as legendary. Thus, e.g., Meyer, Ewald, Beyschlag, Keim, etc.

2. Dogmatically, the belief is treated as unessential. Thus, e. g., Meyer on Matt. 1, and now very emphatically by writers of the Ritschlian school.

3. Scientifically, it is held to be inadmissible. "This, however, is dangerous ground to take. Professor A. B. Bruce well points out the issues in his recent work on Apologetics. 'A sinless man,' he says,' is as much a miracle in the moral world as a virgin-birth is a miracle in the physical world. If we are to hold a speculative view of the universe which absolutely excludes miracles, then we must be content with a Christianity which consists in duly appreciating a great but not perfect character, or cease to profess Christianity at all. If, on the other hand, to satisfy the demands of our religious nature we insist on retaining the moral miracle, then we must provide ourselves with a theory of the universe wide enough to make room for as much of the miraculous element as may appear to the wisdom of God necessary for realizing his great end in creating and sustaining the universe."

Professor Orr considers the dogmatic aspect, referring to Weiss and others for what may be urged in reply to critical objections. The question he asks is this: "How far does the simple fact of a new creative origin such as we have in Christ—of a sinless personality—or on the higher level of faith, of the union of the Godhead with humanity in the Incarnation, involve a supernatural act in the production of Christ's bodily nature?" After referring to certain problems of evolution, he goes on to say: "But the point I wish to press here is that the view which postulates a supernatural cause for the mind of man and hands over his body to the ordinary processes of evolution is untenable. For see the difficulty in which such a view binds itself. It is a corollary from the known laws of the connection of mind and body that every mind needs an organism fitted to it. If the mind of man is the product of a new cause, the brain, which is the instrument of that mind, must share in its peculiar origin. The higher mind cannot be put into the simian brain. From the human brain to the ape brain there is, as science tells us, 'an abrupt fall,'

and no links have yet been discovered to fill up the gap between. Evolution on the theory in question, has brought up the brain of man's simian ancestor to a given point; then a higher cause comes in to endow the creature with rational powers separated by a wide gulf from the degree of intelligence previously possessed. But of what use would these powers be if a corresponding rise did not take place on the organic side? And on the terms of the hypothesis, natural evolution has no means within itself to effect that rise. The conclusion we are driven to is, that the production of a higher type of organism—the distinctively human— is the correlative of the creation of the higher type of mind, and a special supernatural act is needed for both."

Applying this analogy to the question of Christ's origin, he continues: "Here, again, we have a creative beginning. On the lowest supposition compatible with Christian faith we have in Christ a perfect human soulflawless—one standing in such unique relations to God that a perfect Sonship is the result. On the higher ground of faith we have the entrance of a Divine Being into humanity—the Incarnation of the Son. But a perfect soul such as we have in Christ, to go no higher for the present, implies a perfect organism. Moreover, in its place in history such a soul is a moral miracle. It is not to be accounted for out of historical evolution. It transcends the past; is lifted clean above it; is not to be explained by factors already in existence. Whence, then, the organism that clothes it and serves as its perfect medium of expression? Whence this sudden rise from the imperfect to the absolute in humanity, from the impure and sin-tainted to the absolutely pure? This rise, as we saw before, cannot be on the spiritual side alone; it involves the organic as well. There must be a suitable humanity on the physical side to match the perfection of the spirit. . . . The moral miracle from its very nature implies the concurrence of a physical one. This is where Meyer, and all who would make light of the physical miracle, seem to me to err. They recognize a divine act in the Incarnation on its spiritual side, but do not seem to perceive that this 'mystery of godliness' necessitates a special cause operating on the physical side as well. The origin of one like Christ is, view it as we will, a miracle. A new power comes with him into humanity. The words of the annunciation to Mary (Luke 1:35, R. V.) are to this hour the most scientific expression of what we must acknowledge as involved in the birth of the Redeemer."

This is an especially clear, strong article. Modern thought which has so sharply questioned the miraculous gives to it at the same time its strongest defences. The miracle in question has perhaps of all New Testament miracles been that which has given most trouble to men's minds; and yet when it is rightly viewed in its world relations and in its relation to a true conception of the person of Christ, the difficulties in the way of its acceptance are not nearly so great as at first sight they appear to be. The more one considers the miracle in the spiritual realm of Christ's person, the more essentially related to it does the miracle in the physical realm seem.

T. H. R.

Motes and Opinions.

The Book of Enoch and the Son of Man.—In The Expository Times for August, Rev. R. H. Charles has another article on the term Son of Man, in which he restates and emphasizes points made in his preceding article. He replies to certain criticisms of his theory made by Mr. Bartlet in the June Expository Times. In the same number (August) Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., writes a commendatory notice of Mr. Charles' new edition of the Book of Enoch.

T. H. R.

What is the Meaning of the Term, "The Kingdom of God?"—The July Expository Times asks: Can you state in a few words what you understand by the expression "The Kingdom of God" as used by our Lord? Answers to this question are given by four different scholars: Rev. J. H. Bernard, D.D., Trinity College, Dublin; Rev. Professor James Orr, D.D., Edinburgh; Rev. Caleb Scott, D.D., Principal of the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester; and by Rev. Professor Alexander Stewart, D.D., Aberdeen.

Dr. Scott calls attention to the fact that whereas the term Kingdom of God was often on the lips of Christ he never once spoke of God as the King of the Kingdom. Dr. Scott writes: "Christ himself is the King of the Kingdom. It pertains to his mediatorial work. He founded it and laid down its laws. Absolute allegiance to him is the one condition of entrance."

The loftier thought of Christ, Dr. Scott goes on to say, is found in the word "Father." "All that the word 'King' suggests, which differentiates it from the word 'Father,' belongs to what is transitory. Nothing that the word 'Father,' rightly interpreted according to its inmost meaning, suggests can ever pass away. . . . Paul spoke of a time when the Mediator shall deliver up the Kingdom to the Father."

It may be questioned whether Dr. Scott's views as to who is the King of the Kingdom is just the true one. Dr. Stewart evidently takes it for granted that God is the King. "'The Kingdom of God, as used by our Lord, signifies the whole sphere in which the will of God, as an ethical power, is recognized and obeyed. It was the reign of righteousness. . . . It has two sides—the intensive, the qualities which distinguish it (cf. Matt. 6:33; Luke 17: 20, 21; John 3:3); and the extensive, the moral beings whom it includes, and so far as they are under its influence. . . . Perhaps what Jesus means by the 'Kingdom of God' is best seen from the position he gives it in the Lord's Prayer. God's Kingdom begins when his *name is hallowed' with the turn-

ing of the heart in loyalty and devotion towards him; and is perfected when his 'will is done as in heaven so in earth.'"

Dr. Bernard writes: "The Hebrew theocracy had been a 'Kingdom of God' among men, and the expectation of the Kingdom of the Messiah to be established on earth was vivid and universal, as we see not only from passing phrases in the New Testament (e.g., Acts 1:6,) but from the pseudepigraphical literature in which the hopes and fears of the later Jew appear. . . . The Kingdom of Christ on earth was to be the 'fulfilling' of the Jewish theocracy (Matt. 24:43) as in turn it pointed forward to its own consummation in heaven. . . . The equivalent expressions 'Kingdom of God,' 'Kingdom of heaven,' my Kingdom,' are always used of the church of Christ (a) on earth (Mark 4:30; Luke 9:27, etc.); or (b) in heaven (Mark 14:25; Luke 13:28, etc.)"

Dr. Orr, whose article is the longest and the fullest, gives perhaps the clearest and most satisfactory conception of what the Kingdom is, and the relation to it both of God and of Christ. "As a final though imperfect attempt at definition, . . . the Kingdom of God is that new, spiritual, invisible order of things introduced into the world by Christ, which is, on the one hand, the reign of God in his Fatherly love and grace in hearts trustfully submitted to him through his Son, and, on the other, the union of those thus saved and blessed for the doing of God's will and the realization of righteousness, which is but another name for the divine supremacy, in all the spheres and departments of their earthly existence, yet with the hope of a higher and fuller existence in eternity, where God shall be truly 'all in all.'" T. H. R.

Christ, the Revealer of Love. (1 John 3:13-18).—In The Expository Times, for June the series of valuable short studies by the Rev. Professor Richard Rothe in the first Epistle of John is continued. On the passages, "we know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren," and, "hereby know we love, because he laid down his life for us," he comments as follows: "Brotherly love is the appropriate and certain living token of the new birth. John regards man's natural condition as a state of death. He does so for the express reason that it is a state void of love. Thus understood, this assertion of the gospel should be plain even to the man who is not inclined to believe the gospel. Even so-called natural reason must acknowledge that a state in which lack of love reigns cannot be called life, salvation and well-pleasing to God; we cannot deny that man's natural condition is such a state. It is self-evident to one who has an experimental knowledge of love, that wherever love is lacking life also is lacking, and that death reigns in its stead." "John now describes (ver. 16) what kind of brotherly love he means; what he will allow to pass for brotherly love. In the first place, the brotherly love which is active in behalf of one's brethren even to self-sacrifice; the love which we have learned to know in Christ. . . . In the self-sacrifice of Christ for us the full clear thought of love has dawned upon us. The idea of love in all its purity and greatness has not grown up in the natural heart of man; we owe it to the divine revelation in Christ. It is in truth the loftiest thought that has ever entered into the mind of man. It is in accordance with this standard that we have to measure our love, and not in accordance with the standard of human love, as we are in the habit of doing."

T. H. R.

The Unfinished Teaching of Christ .- This is the title of an article in the July Expository Times, by the Rev. Frederic Relton, A.K.C., Chelsea. Concerning the development of Christian doctrine he writes: "Some profess to find the whole Christian system in the sermon on the mount, and to discover incompatibility between the sermon on the mount and the Nicene creed, to say nothing of later doctrinal developments. . . . But to begin with, the sermon on the mount does not contain the whole of Christ's teaching even in outline. And, moreover, Christian theology and doctrine could not be developed until the earthly work of Christ was ended. It is, at least, remarkable that the profoundest theology of the New Testament is not the Pauline, but that of St. John, and is found in the last book of our New Testament-the Gospel of St. John-closely interwoven with the history, which St. John explains from time to time as the story is told. The Lord had indeed much to tell the apostles concerning Christian doctrine, but they could not then hear it or understand it. It was to be gradually taught to them (and to us) as their life and work demanded it, and as their capacity for understanding God's purposes grew and became stronger with exercise and knowledge and T. H. R. increased power."

The Valley of Blessing .- In an article in The Expository Times for July, with the title, Incidents and Emblems, the editor, Rev. James Hastings, M.A., speaks of the peculiar genius which the Hebrew people so markedly possessed for giving appropriate names. He contrasts with them the moderns in this respect. Though perhaps our Anglo-Saxon ancestors had this gift to some extent, yet the English as a nation have lost it. He alludes to the difficulty which the Americans had in giving names in a new, vast country, and quotes the protest of Isaac Taylor in his Words and Places (pp. 313, 314): "In every State of the Union we find repeated again and again such unmeaning names as Thebes, Cairo, Memphis, Troy, Rome, Athens, Utica, Big Bethel, and the like. . . . The incongruity between the names and the appearance of some of these places is amusing. Thus Corinth 'consists of a wooden grog-shop and three log shanties; the Acropolis is represented by a grocery store. All that can be seen of the city of Troy is a timber house, three log huts, a saw mill, and twenty negroes." But we might say that though the genius of the English race is not that of inventing names, yet it is just that which is represented in this list of names quoted by Mr. Taylor. The names of a people reveal the ideals that are before them, and before the English race as they came to this vast unexplored continent were the highest ideals of the old world civilization; its culture and religion. Athens, Rome, Corinth, must be here, say the American pioneers. The actual places with their names often seem incongruous, but they bear witness to what the people as a nation are trying to work out. And it is the very same thing that the name quoted by Mr. Hastings gives witness to, viz.: the ideals of the Hebrew people. They named their places according to their ideals, so that as they came into the new land and developed in their national life, the names of the places are the reflex of their religious history and consciousness. As Mr. Hastings well says: "To every event in their history they gave a name; every locality where an event had taken place they marked by a name that was almost always surprisingly beautiful and appropriate. Well might the historian say, as he does say again and again, 'And it is called so and so unto this day.'"

"And on the fourth day they assembled themselves in the valley of Berachah, for there they blessed the Lord; therefore the name of that place was called The Valley of Berachah unto this day. (2 Chron. 20:26.) . . . The Valley of Blessing was so called not because they sought or found, but because they gave the blessing. . . . It is one of the blessed audacities of the Old Testament."

T. H. R.

Work and Workers.

DR. RIGGS, of Auburn Theological Seminary, lectured at Chautauqua during the first term on the Gospel and Epistles of John. At the same place President Harper has been delivering a course of lectures on "The Prophecies Concerning the Fall of Jerusalem."

WE note the following from August Biblia: Mr. Bliss is now preparing a memoir of his work at Tell el-Hesy, which will be published in the Autumn. After a preliminary chapter, showing how his work fitted into that of Dr. Petrie, and stating the clues by which he determined the various town-levels, he will describe the appearance of each town, beginning with the lowest and most ancient one, together with the objects found. The final chapter will include some account of the camp life with people, Arabs, etc. The book will contain many plates and illustrations.

THE same number of Biblia contains an extract from the letter of a correspondent, who writes: "When Miss Amelia B. Edwards died, the newspapers, as a rule, did not do justice to the great woman. Even the 'Academy and Athenaum' had shorter articles than were her due. Through the kindness of Mrs. John A. Logan I have received several good articles, but until I read Dr. Winslow's 'The Queen of Egyptology,' I did not have any ideal biography."

DR. JAMES A. CRAIG, formerly of Lane Theological Seminary, who has been studying in London and Berlin during the past year, has been called to the University of Michigan as Professor of the Semitic Languages. His work in the British Museum has been for the most part on the religious texts of the Assyrians.

PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, the eminent Assyriologist of Leipzig, has received a call to Breslau as professor of the Semitic languages, and has forwarded his acceptance. The younger Delitzsch has many friends in America, almost all of the Assyriologists having studied under him. Since 1885, when there were ten Americans studying with Delitzsch, the Leipzig faculty has lost three prominent men—Fleischer, the Arabist, Franz Delitzsch, (both dead), and Friedrich Delitzsch, who goes to Breslau.

THE Assembly Herald of July 25 thus speaks of Bible study at Chautauqua: In the work of the first Chautauqua Assembly the study of the Bible was an important factor, indeed, the most important element—the heart of the Chautauqua idea in its infancy. Through all the changes which have come to Chautauqua, this center of Chautauqua life has not only remained an essential factor, but has continually widened and developed as the years have brought new men, new methods, and new light on old problems. Beginning with a normal class for Sunday-school teachers, the work has grown until it now stands an organized school, holding daily sessions and offering courses of study which appeal to Bible students of every relation of life,—the normal work still continuing by the side of the more comprehensive plan. The Bible school is divided into terms of two weeks each. During the second term the following subjects were presented: The Psalms, Professor Harper; The Epistle to the Romans, Professor Horswell; The Wisdom Books, Professor Burnham; The History and Prophecies of the Babylonian Period, Professor McClenahan; The Historical Study of the Book of Revelation, Mr. Votaw.

THE Lipsius library, purchased by Hartford Seminary, has recently arrived. It was owned by Professor R. A. Lipsius, Professor of Theology at Jena for many years, whose death occurred a year ago. Professor Lipsius was the editor of an annual critique of theological literature and of one of the most influential of the theological quarterlies of Germany. The library consists of about three thousand titles, more than half being in the fields of constructive and controversial Systematic Theology. The Hartford Seminary Record for June says of this library: "It is preëminently a library of recent works. In the department of works on the Philosophy of Religion, for instance, more than half of the whole contents has been published within the last ten years. It is composed mostly of German works, but a generous sprinkling of English and American books and magazines shows its reach. Abbott, Allen, Schaff, Stevens, Horton, Hatch, Martineau, are among the many names familiar to English readers which it contains." Over four hundred works relate to the New Testament and a large number treat of the Old Testament.

THE following is from the *Independent*:—The publication of the great catalogue of the books in the British Museum, which, in manuscript form, embraces more than two thousand volumes, and was begun in 1881, has advanced at such a rate that the completion can be looked for about the year 1900. The latest volume, just issued, catalogues the complete Bible editions in the museum, of which there are three thousand, and is a most valuable contribution to biblical bibliography. The catalogues of the separate editions of the Old and the New Testaments, as also of the separate books of the Bible, will be published later. The British Museum has, with the sole exception of the Royal Library at Stuttgart, Würtemberg, the largest collection of Bible editions in the world. The oldest Polyglot Bible in the collection is that of 1514-17, published through the munificence of Cardinal Ximenes of Spain, in Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts. Its copy of the Plantin Polyglot Bible, published in Antwerp, 1569-73, is especially valuable, being the one

which King Philip II., of Spain, presented to the Duke of Alva for having subdued the Protestant Netherlands. Of the seventy-five editions of the Latin Bible published in the fifteenth century, all of which are represented in this collection, the Mazarin Bible of 1452, printed by Gutenberg, is the oldest, and, indeed, is the oldest book published. The museum has three copies of this edition. The oldest English Bible is that of 1535, done by Miles Coverdale but printed on the Continent. An English New Testament was being printed as early as 1525 in Cologne, but on account of the bitter persecution of the Catholics, was suppressed after ten sheets had been printed. The museum has this fragmentary edition joined together with two proclamations of Henry VIII., the defensor fidei. The first of these, dated 1530, which, with the threats, forbids the publication of an English translation of the Bible; while the second, of 1541, expressly orders that in each church the Bible shall be read in the vernacular. The total number of editions of the English Bible in the museum is eleven hundred. The first German Bible was published by Johann Mentelin of Strassburg, in 1466. The museum possesses ten editions of that German Bible which appeared before the days of Luther and the Reformation, and even this collection is far from exhaustive, as the recent researches of Pastor Walter have shown. One copy of a German bible of 1541 contains annotations from the hand of Luther; a second, printed in 1558, was the copy used by Duke August of Saxony. The new volume of the catalogue gives editions of the completed Bible in more than ninety languages and dialects. 'It is noteworthy that no complete edition of the Scriptures exists in Japanese.

THE surveying and map work of the Palestine Exploration Fund is now complete. Its energies in the future will be devoted to excavation. The raised map of Palestine now on exhibition at Chicago is exciting much interest. Concerning it, Professor Theodore F. Wright, Secretary of the Fund for the United States, writes:

"With the production of this contour map the Fund has reached the goal of its work in surveying and mapping the country, and it has done its task in spite of great obstacles with thoroughness and the utmost fidelity." "Probably no piece of ground in the world of the same size so greatly requires to be seen in contour in order to have its features understood. The map is very light but firm, being bordered and braced at the back with wood. It is easily fixed to a wall. The dimensions are seven feet and nine inches by four feet and three inches. The extremely convoluted nature of most of the surface is brought out at once. The depth of the valley is very impressive. It is on the same scale as the twelve-sheet map, three-eighths of an inch to the mile, but extends as far to the North as the twenty-sheet map. I am unable to say just what the cost to Americans will be, but wish to correspond with anyone who desires to obtain this copy or another."

Professor Wright adds also: "The ten quarto volumes of the Eastern

and Western survey and a full set of the statements are here and will not be sent back if a purchaser can be found in this country. This opportunity is of course the first and the last of its kind." The exhibit is in the Manufactures Building, southwest gallery, British section, B, 40.

VERY important excavations have recently been begun at the temple of Deir El-Bahari at Thebes by the distinguished Egyptologist, Edouard Naville, working under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Biblia for August publishes an interesting article by Miss Kate Bradbury, written for the Manchester (Eng.) Examiner, on the work of the Fund, especially at Deir El-Bahari. We quote the following from this article: "The Egypt Exploration Fund carries on its work by permission and grace of the 'Service des Antiquites de l'Egypte.' Until a few months ago the sites placed at its disposal were all in the Delta, where excavations are not only costly but to a certain extent full of disappointment for the explorer, who finds that the allpervading mud of the inundations has left him little beyond stone and pottery to recover. Papyri must have been carbonized to survive the damp of the Delta. In that case, they may now be saved as a layer of tinder which a rude breath would scatter, and yet be decipherable if carefully transmitted into the hands of patient skill and scholarship-if so be that the ink of their writings is not vegetable. So it fell out with the papyri of Tanis, recovered by Mr. Flinders Petrie. Two of them have already been reproduced and translated. . . . Both papyri are of great scientific value." Comparing the Delta with Upper Egypt, she writes: "The rocks and sands of Upper Egypt are dry and conservative, and the working season is not there limited by the inundation, but only by the heat. It is therefore far easier and more profitable for the archæological excavator to work there than in the Delta, and the Egypt Exploration Fund has reason to congratulate itself that Monsieur de Morgan, the new director of the Ghizeh Museum, has accorded it a site in Upper Egypt, and the excavation of the great Theban temple of Deir el-Bahari, a temple which is architecturally and artistically unique. The work will be one of years, and the society is fully sensible of the responsibility to the world which this trust entails upon it." The following is a brief description of the temple itself, and of previous excavations there: "The temple of Deir el-Bahari is chiefly connected with the times of the powerful XVIII. Dynasty (circa B. C. 1700). It stands in a natural amphitheatre of golden limestone rock, and is built-on an axis of 150 feet-in four successive terraces rising towards the west and into the hill. Its modern name of Deir el-Bahari, or the 'Convent of the North,' was received because a Coptic monastery was constructed on and of the ruins of the heathen temple by early Christians of the Thebaid. Apart from their own interests, the walls, ruins, and traces of that convent have to be reckoned with in the new excavations, since the Christian Egyptians duly followed the time-honored plan of using ancient sculptures and inscriptions for new building material. Mariette excavated the length of the temple on its southern side, piling his rubbish on the northern side of the terraces, and laying bare the beautiful and detailed inscribed sculptures which set forth the history of Queen Hatshepsu's expedition to the Land of Punt, as in a gigantic illustrated book of travel. The scientific value and interest of this pictorial record is as great as its artistic charm. Mariette's rubbish requires thorough sifting before it is finally dismissed, for in his haste to uncover the temple he cast aside from its context much historical evidence whose worth was then unappreciated. At that time it was not recognized as an axiom in working out the results of archæological excavations that the commonest things, such as potsherds, are found to yield the best chronological data to the omniscient archæologist."

In another article, published likewise in the August Biblia, Monsieur Naville himself gives an account of his work at Deir el-Bahari. He precedes this with a short statement of Mariette's discoveries. "Mariette first excavated the temple. Following the central avenue which leads to the sanctuary, he cleared a great part of the southern side, throwing over on the northern side all the rubbish which he could not get rid of. The most important part of his discoveries consisted of the supporting wall of the upper terrace, with sculptures depicting a naval expedition to the land of Punt; the rock-cut sanctuary of the goddess Hathor, where the goddess is seen in the form of a cow, suckling the young queen, Hatshepsu, Hatasu as she is incorrectly called, and the great hall of offerings. On the northern side, Mariette, and after him M. Maspero, dug out part of the portico at the foot of the upper terrace, and a small sanctuary corresponding to that of Hathor, which was found full of mummies of recent date."

M. Naville has cleared completely the northern half of the upper terrace. Among his own discoveries are:

(a) A long hall, with well preserved sculptures of gigantic proportions, showing Hatasu and Thothmes III. making offerings to Amon.

(b) An open court, next to this, limited on the north by the mountain, on the east by the remains of a chamber with columns.

(c) Opening from this court, a small rock-cut chapel, the funeral chapel of Thothmes I. The ceiling, well painted in blue with yellow stars, is an Egyptian arch. . . . The king is seen there with two different queens; one of them, Ahmes, is well known; the other one, Seuseneb, so far as M. Naville knows, has not yet been met with.

(d) A great square altar in limestone, to which access is given by a flight of steps. This is just before the door of the chapel. The inscription says that a royal person—evidently Queen Hatasu, though her name is hammered out—"built a large altar in white stone to her father, Ra Harmakis;" meaning, perhaps, her deified father, Thothmes I. The altar is a platform, sixteen by thirteen feet and five feet high, with ten steps leading up to it. It had a low parapet like the terraces, in order to prevent the offerings from falling

into the court, and probably there was a smaller altar in hard stone placed on the top. It is the only altar of this kind known in Egypt.

(e) One of the sides of a large shrine of ebony, more than six feet high, erected by Thothmes II. "Ebony never being found in large pieces, the whole panel is made of small fragments, held together by ebony pegs, which have been used with the greatest skill as part of the sculpture. This shrine was erected by Thothmes II., who says in the inscription that it was made of ebony 'from the top of the mountains' in honor of his father, Amon. But everywhere the figure of Amon has been cut out with a knife, evidently by the heretical kings. . . . It was a very difficult and delicate task to lift out the panel and to pack it without running the risk of seeing the whole thing fall to pieces, as ebony is very heavy wood. . . . It is now on its way to the Ghizeh Museum, where it will have to be repaired by a skilled cabinet-maker before being exhibited."

(f) Fragments of a sculpture representing the transportation of obelisks and other heavy monuments. "The Copts, who built their convent over the temple, have practised the most ruthless destruction among the very beautiful sculptures which adorned it. They have scattered all over the building parts of a most interesting stone which, I believe, belonged to the lowest terrace. Some of its fragments are built into walls, others have been used as threshholds or stairs, others piled together with capitals and bricks in the clumsy partitions which they raised between the rooms of the convent. I carefully gathered and stored all the blocks I found belonging to that series which represented the transportation of obelisks and other heavy monuments. The most interesting of these blocks shows an obelisk lying on a high boat, where it has been placed by means of a sort of sledge, on which it still rests. The high boat is towed by a small one rowed by several men. Unfortunately, the block is small; we see only the top of the obelisk, but we may hope next Winter to find the remaining parts. It is the first time anything has been dlscovered relating to the transportation of obelisks."

(g) A very curious inscription concerning the birth of Hatasu and her accession to the throne. It is on the supporting wall of the upper terrace. We see the god Anubis rolling an enormous egg, and goddesses suckling the young queen; further, we come to her enthronement by her father. Thothmes I. is seen in a shrine, stretching forth his hands towards a young man, who is the queen. The young man is hammered out, but still discernable, as well as the long inscription which accompanies the picture and which relates how Thothmes called together the grandees of his kingdom, and ordered them to obey his daughter. There is an obscure allusion to his death, and a description of the rejoicing when she ascended the throne."

M. Naville concludes as follows: "This short summary shows how rich a place is Deir el-Bahari, and how much we may expect from further excavations, which I hope will be resumed in the autumn. I must add that in the rubbish I found a great many Coptic letters written on potsherds or on pieces

of limestone. They contain the correspondence between certain monks called Victor, John, Abraham, Zacharia, etc. They usually begin with a salutation, and sometimes with the formula: 'In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' These letters have all been sent to Europe, and are the property of the Fund."

ACCORDING to the report of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle there are now 1,400 circles, 500 having been organized the past year. The class of '96, which was organized last year with 300 members, has increased to more than 1,000. Upward of 2,000 members are pursuing the advanced course.

Book Reviews.

Survivals in Christianity. Studies in the Theology of the Divine Immanence. Special Lectures delivered before the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Mass., in 1892. By Charles James Wood. New York: Macmillan and Co. 1893 Pp. 317.

The Foregleams of Christianity. An Essay on the Religious History of Antiquity. By Charles Newton Scott. Revised and Enlarged Edition. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1893. Imported by Macmillan and Co. Pp. viii. 223.

A peculiar interest attaches to these two books by reason of their appeal to a wider circle than the company of professional scholars on behalf of a body of facts and a method of investigation which are bound to obtain a prominent place in theological study. The facts are the doctrines and practices of religious systems other than Christianity, and the method is that of comparing these facts with those of Christianity.

It is not necessary, if it were possible, to prophesy the result of such an investigation as these books suggest and endeavor to forward. Their contribution to it affords instructive material bearing upon the point enough to occupy more space than could be allowed to this notice. Both writers have their aims clearly defined at the start. Each has his prepossessions. The author of "Survivals in Christianity" holds that Christianity is uniquely original in its primitive doctrines and ideas, but that outside accretions from non-Christian sources, folk-faith, and "pagan" systems, have contaminated some of its fundamental teachings as these have been enunciated and expounded through the ages by Christian teachers. His plan is to determine the precise teaching of the New Testament on various essential points, to compare it with the results of popular non-Christian belief or systems of doctrine on the same points to show how far later Christian teaching has departed from the original standards and finally thus to enable modern Christianity to get rid of these "pagan survivals" and return to the doctrine of Jesus and the Apostles.

The purpose of Mr. Scott is to show that the elements of truth in the pre-Christian religions and philosophies can be harmonized only by Christianity; that the more exalted these were in morals, the more faulty were their metaphysics; that God manifests his presence in the succession of religious developments preparing the way for Christianity. The two books take quite a different attitude toward non-Christian systems, the one regarding Christianity as having suffered from the contact with "pagan" faiths, the other finding "pagan" faiths summed up and satisfied in Christianity. Now each of these views has truth, but neither has the whole truth. The books, therefore, supplement and correct each other. Christianity does satisfy the religious want to which each of these old religions corresponded, does embody in a higher and purer way the truth for which they stood. They take their place in its larger temple and are at home there. At the same time they have brought with them customs, practices, ideas, forms of expressions, which are not quite consistent with the higher elements of the faith which has received them. They have imposed modes of thought whose results have been retrogressive instead of progressive. It is wise and salutary that these be sought out carefully and clearly revealed. Mr. Wood's method and contribution to this end are praiseworthy, his method much more than his contribution of positive thinking.

The weakness of his book lies in the presupposition already mentioned which lies at its root. It overestimates the originality of Christianity. There is no place for the gathering up of the past into the Christian system. The "evolution of religion" has, according to this view, no relation to the Christian origins. Christianity starts into being from no prepared soil with no antecedents. This conception of Christianity is quite out of date and cannot stand before the facts. Does not this notion run the risk of impugning the justice of the Divine method of dealing with the race? Everything "pagan" is false. Old faiths got nothing right, but all awry. Mr. Wood has also yielded to the temptation, incident to his method, of finding in the New Testament a Christianity which is in accordance with his ideas of what it ought to be. With that touchstone much appears to be "pagan survival" which another thinker would regard as the essence of the Gospel. The question at issue, underlying all, is the source of the Christian doctrines themselves, whence they came, how were they wrought out, on what they depend.

Both works, that of Mr. Scott especially, are injured by dependence upon untrustworthy sources of facts concerning other religions and by unwarranted inferences concerning their ideas and teachings. There is not space here to point out specific instances to substantiate this statement, but it would be easily possible. Indeed, when one considers what an amount of reading, what a command of facts is demanded before one is competent to pronounce an opinion upon these complex questions, the wonder is that both writers have made so few slips. The subject which they discuss is not yet ripe for discussion. The field has not yet been covered. The facts are not yet all in. One can not but feel that the labor which has been bestowed is not rewarded by the results achieved. These writers are pioneers. They must suffer the fate of most pioneers. They are also entitled to their rewards and the esteem due to such endeavor. They have their eyes on the right goal, even though they may make many false steps and at last may fail to reach it.

It is worth while for intelligent clergymen to read these volumes that they

may know what is the direction which the new and fruitful work in theology is to take. If they can gain from these books some stimulus to undertake similar studies, they will be rewarded. The impulse gained would be most wisely directed if it should lead them, not to the investigation of the wide field of many religions, but to the mastery of one. To be able thoroughly to know one other religion than Christianity, so as to make one's comparisons really sound and stable, is immensely to widen one's knowledge of religious truth and powerfully to strengthen one's grasp on the eternal verities of the Gospel of God.

G. S. G.

The Prophecies of Daniel Expounded. By MILTON S. TERRY, S.T.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Garrett Biblical Institute. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Pp. 1-136. Price \$1.00.

Professor Terry believes that the mass of what has been written upon the Book of Daniel in the form of commentary, is based upon unsound methods of interpretation. He feels that, in the opinion of many English expounders, the great vision of Daniel was to foretell the rise and fall of the Roman Papacy. He is inclined to think that if this idea of theirs is to be objected to they would scarcely be willing to give the book a place in the canon. Professor Terry is likewise opposed to the assumption that the book of Daniel and the Apocalypse of John were intended to contain a prophetic syllabus of European politics. The professor does not commit himself on the question of the date and authorship, but maintains that whatever may be the results of scientific criticism, the apocalyptic chapters constitute a very original and important body of divine revelation. We are to infer from the preface that if criticism should prove that the book was written during the times of the Maccabees, the real purpose and influence of the book would not be disturbed. The chief purpose of the treatment seems to be to advocate that view of the four great kingdoms which has been lost sight of by English readers. He opposes very strongly the opinion that the fourth kingdom is the Roman Empire, maintaining that the four kingdoms are the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian and the Grecian. A short but well selected bibliography precedes the introduction.

Omitting the other portions of Daniel, he discusses (1) Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic dream (2:31-45); (2) The vision of the four empires and the judgment (chapter 4); (3) The vision of the ram and the goat (chapter 7); (4) The seventy weeks (chapter 9:24-27); (5) The broken and divided kingdom, and the end (chapter 11:2 to chapter 12:3). The explanation adopted of the use of the two languages in the book, the Aramaic as well as the Hebrew, suggests that the Aramaic section is not the original text of Daniel but an ancient Targum or Paraphrase which has been substituted for it. There is no question that the professor has adopted the correct view of the four empires, and in a popular way he presents the arguments for and against. One of the strangest facts of modern belief, or perhaps it would

better be called modern credulity, is the almost universal acceptance given by those who read the Bible to a theory concerning these empires which introduces the Pope and the Romish church. This theory does violence not only to the text of Scripture but also to the most fundamental principles of prophetic work.

We must confess that the professor's discussion of the Median empire is unsatisfactory. We had hoped that here he might have made a contribution which would have taken away all difficulty. Without doubt there was little ground for such hope. It matters not what the records of history outside the Bible may go to show, the writer of the Book of Daniel evidently believed that there lived a Darius, the Median, and that he immediately succeeded the Babylonian period. The argument in favor of Antiochus Epiphanes, as the person to whom reference is made in chapter II:21-45, is convincing. It is not possible to enter into detail, but it is sufficient to say that the treatment is based upon sound principles, and announces results which may now be called conclusive.

W. R. H.

The Old Testament in the Jewish Church: A Course of Lectures on Biblical Criticism. By W. ROBERTSON SMITH. Second Edition, revised and much enlarged. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1892. Pp. xiv and 458.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1881 as a course of lectures which had been delivered on progressive biblical science before audiences in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The onward march of critical investigation, the application of larger principles, and new and larger results called for a revision and enlargement of the original publication. Prof. Smith has been among the most diligent writers and publishers on this line since his first announcement. His editorial management of the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica also demanded of him as contributor a large amount of valuable service in biblical lines. This new edition is partly rewritten and contains about one-third more matter than its predecessor.

Lecture V, which treats of the historical books, has received large additions, and the treatment of the canon is confined to Lecture VI. In Lecture V we note especially the so-called discrepant narratives in Judges 4 and 5, the taking of Ai, the history of Saul, and those in Kings and Chronicles. To the discussion of the Psalter there are some additional points, called out in part by the work of Prof. Cheyne. Our author refuses to accompany the Oxford sage in letting down nearly the entire Psalter to Post-exilic times. He characterizes some of his views as entirely fanciful; and would make Psalm 45, for example, a poem of the old kingdom. These much more reasonable and credible views will win the favor of students long before the Cheyne hypotheses.

Lecture XIII is supplementary on the Hexateuchal question and traces the documents as they have been critically and microscopically detected in the narrative. "The Jahvist and Elohist together are responsible for the

great mass of the patriarchal history, and for all of those stories that make Genesis one of the most delightful of books. What remains for the priestly writer is meagre enough; the continuous thread of his narrative is no more than a string of names, dates, and other dry bones of history, mainly in systematic form under the standard heading: 'These are the generations of '" (p. 417). "The supposed Mosaic ordinances, and the narratives that go with them, are unknown to the history and the prophets before Ezra; they are unknown to the Deuteronomic writers, and they are unknown to the non-priestly parts of the Pentateuch, which Deuteronomy presupposes. And from this it follows with certainty that the priestly recasting of the origins of Israel is not history, but haggada; solely for the purpose of legal and ethical instruction" (p. 420). In the middle books of the Pentateuch the analysis becomes more difficult; in some passages it is even next to impossible to separate the constituent elements. There are, however, sufficient indications of dual authorship to satisfy the critic that all through the Hexateuch the old history consists of a two-fold thread (p. 424). The time and manner of the fusion of these documents was late, just about the time of the exile.

These are just a hint at the contents of this full book. It displays prodigious research and work, and follows well in the line of the great leaders in biblical criticism. It is more moderate, however, than Kuenen and Wellhausen, in that an attempt is made to preserve inspiration and the supernatural. This labored strife often leads to statements of questionable conclusiveness and methods of more than doubtful logic. To assume a fact (p. 226, etc.), and then build on it as settled, and thereupon make dogmatic statements and formulate indisputable conclusions, are not the most successful methods of convincing the thinking man (cf. p. 61 note; cf. p. 73 with 62; p. 108 with 106). In following through Prof. Smith's hypotheses and arguments one is constantly asking, "How is that known?" (pp. 45, 46, 65, 92) "What is your authority for that?" "Is not that explaining away things, a process which you say has no place in biblical interpretation?" (cf. pp. 132-148 with p. 421). "What is the use of all the time apologizing for treating the Scriptures as any other book?" (pp. 18 seq., 233 seq.). It must be perfectly apparent to every reader that the work abounds with good suggestions and valuable hints for critical study, but the a priori method of settling difficulties, of analyzing narratives, contains in it too many elements of pure conjecture and too few certified and proven facts. The work is a valuable exponent of the present critical status of Old Testament research, and stands in the fore-PRICE. front of those ranks.

Early Bibles in America. By Rev. John Wright, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, St. Paul, Minnesota. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House. Pp. 1-171. Price \$1.50.

In the title of this book, the word "America" is used in a restricted sense, the treatment including only those Bibles that were printed during the existence of the British American colonies and others that appeared after the colonies became the United States. The accounts given are biographic as well as

Beginning with the Eliot Bible, prepared for the Indians (1654–1661), he takes up in succession the Saur Bible, printed at Germantown (1743), the Aitken Bible, printed in Philadelphia (1792), the first Douay Version, printed in 1790, the Thomas Bible (1791), the Collins Bible (1791), the first translation of the Septuagint (1808), the first translation of the Peshito, Syriac version (1851). Chapters are given also to (1) Curious versions, (2) Early Editions of the Greek Testament, (3) Various editions.

In the appendices we have the dedication of the Eliot New Testament (1661), the dedication in the Eliot Bible of 1663, the list of owners of Eliot New Testaments and Bibles, the prices paid for Eliot New Testaments and Bibles, the list of owners of the Saur Bibles, list of owners of the Aitken Bibles; the title pages of these various Bibles are given in fac simile. Certainly no one interested in the history of the transmission of the Bible will fail to acquaint himself with the facts contained in this brief but accurate treatment.

W. R. H.

The Gospel of Paul. By CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, Professor of Theology in Harvard University, and Dean of the Harvard Divinity School. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Pp. xiii and 307. Price, \$1.50.

A new interpretation is here proposed of Paul's teaching on atonement. The traditional view rests upon an erroneous theory of sacrifice and an assumed authority of the church. A reëxamination of the meaning of sacrifice finds nothing like the substitution of the victim for the offence as the bearer of penalty, either in the general forms of sacrifice or in the Hebrew. The church confessedly knew nothing of the vicarious suffering of penalty till the time of Anselm, 1000 A. D., and the traditional view was elaborated still later. The discussion by the theologians has been based thus far on theoretical considerations and not on what Paul actually said. On the assumption that abstract and figurative statements are to be explained by the more concrete and definite, the key to the discussion is found in Gal. 3:13. The curse which Christ bore for men was the ceremonial pollution which fell upon him as one crucified. Association with him through faith similarly pollutes the believer. Christ and his followers are thus made outcasts by the application to them of the law itself. The immediate effect of this, according to Gal. 2:19 and 20, is that the Christian is freed from the law, "dead to it." He is as one excommunicated, Heb. 13:10-13. The secondary effect of this pollution is that sins against the law and the condemnation for them also pass away, as suggested in Col. 2:13-14. The apostle resolutely becomes an exile with Christ from Judaism; and then discovers to his surprise and delight that he has entered into a new life of liberty. The Gentiles share

the benefits of this abrogation of the law by the breaking down of the limitations, Eph. 2:11-20, under which they had rested in reference to the promises made to Abraham. For both Jew and Gentile the past is no more. They start afresh from the death of Christ on the cross, equally ready for the new life.

These more definite statements enable one to interpret the figurative and sacrificial language. Thus 2 Cor. 5:21 teaches that Christ was not made a sinner, nor put in place of a sinner, but made "sin" and a "curse" because the law pronounced the crucified to be accursed. In this light Rom. 3:24-26 declares that God shows his righteousness, i. e., his respect for law, by making the law itself the instrument of its own annulment. By the crucifixion and pollution of Christ, he and his followers are justified from the law by becoming outcasts from it; and the "passing over of sins done aforetime" is a forgiving of sins because the law is blotted out for the Christian and taken away. With this agree the prominence which Paul gives to the resurrection of Jesus as in itself a triumph, and the teachings concerning atonement of James, Peter and the Revelation. The new explanation also fits in perfectly with Paul's philosophy of history, and puts the doctrine of atonement in its true place, as only the beginning of the gospel. To the thought of Paul no one was made free from the law through Christ who did not stand to him in such an intimate relation of faith that he shared with him the legal pollution of his crucifixion. And the issue of this intimate relation could be no other than the highest life of Christian love and inspiration, which was what Paul was aiming at in all his teaching and preaching.

No synopsis can justly present this remarkable and altogether ingenious book. It would be easy to denounce it simply as novel and hostile to the accepted belief concerning the atonement. It might be set aside, out of hand, as built upon slight foundations or as having too much the air of a special plea. It might even be truthful to say that on a first reading the solution seems too simple and perfect, if not too artificial. But the book is nevertheless a serious attempt to expound the teaching of Paul after a really scientific manner. As such, it deserves respect. It is a challenge as well, attacking the traditional view in its assumptions and in its exegesis. As such, it demands careful consideration and an answer on its own grounds. It further presents an unusual view of the meaning of the cross of Christ. As such, it is of great value to all who seek fresh visions of that many-sided and central fact in Christianity, the vividness of which is constantly obscured by the common formulas of religious speech.

The answers to this argument, if there are any, must be along three lines.

(1) One must challenge the primary assertion of the book, that the ancient idea of sacrifice had little or no place for the substitutionary bearing of penalty. Tylor himself, whom the author quotes, declares that sacrifice among the Hebrews appears "with the higher significance of devout homage or expiation for sin." If it can be shown that the sacrificial language does

on occasion bear this interpretation, it may be altogether right for the ordinary reader to accept that first meaning of the New Testament statements. which still press so hard upon our author, even after his effort to banish it from his mind. (2) The objector must show that the exegesis of particular texts is faulty, either by itself or in relation to the larger view of the New Testament teachings. Thus it is pertinent to inquire how, if "Judaism had no place for the Christians, for they were polluted by the cross of their leader," the Jewish Christians could under any conditions accept the crucified Jesus as their Messiah. It may also be seriously questioned whether in this emphasis laid upon the language of Gal. 2:13 the incidental is not given the place that belongs to the fundamental and the boldly figurative put in the place of the soberly literal. (3) Answer may also be made by showing that the author does not apprehend the ethical significance of the idea of substitution. He puts tersely the commercial form, which he rightly says is being rejected by the moral sense of modern theologians. But to admit that this caricature of the atonement is not the Pauline doctrine is not to declare that there is no thought of vicarious suffering in his doctrine. The sacrificial language may have a deeper meaning than our author discovers. The death of Christ may have a larger Godward side than is here allowed. Even though the Galatian passages may be interpreted as is here proposed, Paul is not always dealing with Judaizers. His argument is not always pure dialectic. In his philosophy of salvation by faith in Christ there may be a place for that doctrine of Christ's penal or vice-penal death, which has gained its hold upon Christian theology, not because of churchly authority, but because it has seemed to correspond to the real needs of sin-cursed human nature.

This book, accepted or answered, is a positive and welcome contribution to the rapidly multiplying aids to the study of Paul's contributions to Christianity. It may be put beside the works of Pfleiderer, Sabatier and Stevens, as equally scientific in spirit, reverent in tone, scholarly in execution, and stimulating in style and thought. No student can afford to ignore it. So far as it be the true statement he will be enriched by it. So far as it is faulty, he must bring knowledge and critical acumen to detect its flaws and defend his own positions against its attacks.

J. R. G.

The Pentateuch Translated and Explained. By Samson Raphael Hirsch, Rabbi of the Israelitish Religious Society of Frankfort on the Main. First Part: Genesis.

This handsome volume, which contains the Hebrew text as well as a German translation and commentary, is a good specimen of modern Jewish exegesis of the narrower kind. Although by no means free from individual eccentricities it bears testimony on almost every page to the continued domination in some Jewish circles of ancient prejudices and traditional methods. The "wise men" of the Talmud and the Midrash are still

regarded there with respect which borders on veneration. Before the reader has finished perusing the second page, he finds the old Rabbinic saying, that "the world was created by the merits of Israel, by the merits of Moses, and by the merits of the challah, the tithe and the first fruits," cited with warm approval. The superstitious avoidance of the words Elohim and Jahveh, so characteristic of later Judaism, is prominent throughout. The former of these two sacred names is usually written with Daleth or Koph instead of He; and the latter is uniformly translated "God." The tetragrammaton seems to be as awful to this rabbi of the nineteenth century as to his ancestors in the schools of Galilee and Babylonia. Its meaning is discussed and its pronunciation is mentioned, but it is never transliterated. These two divine names, Jahveh and Elohim, are distinguished in the translation only by the employment of different type. Another characteristic which our author has in common with his forefathers is profound indifference to Gentile culture. Modern criticism on the Pentateuch is ignored. The discoveries of Assyriologists and Egyptologists are assumed to have no interest for those to whom the book appeals. Without a syllable of introduction Rabbi Hirsch sets about his task of translating and expounding the Pentateuch; and he prosecutes it with a calm disregard of current theories and conflicting opinions, which reminds us of the apparent insensibility of the ancient synagogue, as represented in the Mishnah, to the spread of Christianity. His renderings are sometimes original, but again and again an odd version of a phrase is found on examination to be in some way connected with the teaching of the fathers. When, for instance, Adam and Eve are said to have heard the voice of God "withdrawing itself in the garden at the side of the day," which is explained to mean "towards the West" (Gen. 3:8); when Esau is represented as "a hunter with his mouth" (Gen. 25:28); when "Shaddai" is rendered "the All-Sufficient" (Gen. 28:3); and when the last clause in the famous prophecy about Shiloh is translated "to him shall the weak old age of the peoples belong" (Gen. 49:10), we have in each case a reminiscence of the Targum or the Midrash. The Messianic prophecies of which this last passage reminds us are treated very curiously. The earliest, the Protevangelium, as it is often called by Christian writers (Gen. 3:15), is interpreted allegorically. The serpent is said to stand for the animal element in human nature. The text declares that this animal side is in God's purpose subordinate. "Man has received more power over it than it has received over him." The Messianic reference which is admitted in two of the Targums is ignored. The great promise to Abraham (Gen. 12:3) is also discussed without any reference to the Messiah. On the other hand, Jacob's blessing of Judah, in the treatment of a clause which has been already mentioned, is recognized as pointing on to Messianic times. He who is seen by the patriarch binding his foal to the vine and the young of his she-ass to the choice vine is the Messiah. The elaborate exposition of this prophecy shows that our author is a follower of those ancient Jews who pictured the Messianic era as one of

extraordinary fertility and material blessing, rather than of the cold-blooded rabbi who said that its only distinctive characteristic would be the removal of Gentile supremacy. It is also evident that Rabbi Hirsch expects Israel some day to rule the world. Time will be when worn out humanity will submit to the beneficent sway of the regenerated Judah as represented by the Messiah. Some of the etymologies proposed in the commentary are very odd. "Shiloh" is connected with "shul," the skirt of a garment, and means in this prophecy "the extreme end," the last and apparently dying offshoot of the tribe of Judah. The word for "Flood" (mabul) is derived from "navayl" "which is said to signify the disappearance of the vital forces in the organic, animal, or moral world." It is therefore rendered not "flood" but "deprivation of life" (Entseelung). In spite however of these peculiarities and of the proud exclusive Jewish spirit which pervades the work, it well deserves the attention of Christian students. It represents much patient toil, and abounds in quaint remarks and shrewd hints which may be turned to good account by teachers and preachers. W. TAYLOR SMITH.

Current Literature.

By CLYDE W. VOTAW, The University of Chicago.

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